

ENGLAND's Black Tribunal:

CONTAINING,

- I. The complete Tryal of King CHARLES the First, by the pretended High Court of Justice in *Westminster-Hall*, begun Jan. 20, 1648. Together with His Majesty's Speech on the Scaffold, erected at *Whiteball-Gate*, on Tuesday Jan. 30, 1648.
- II. The *Loyal Martyrology*: Or, A perfect Relation of the Sufferings and Death of the Nobility, Gentry, and others, who were inhumanly sacrific'd for their Loyalty to their Sovereigns King CHARLES I. and II. Together with their several *Dying Speeches*.
- III. An *Historical Register* of the LORDS, Knights, and Gentlemen, who were slain in Defence of their KING and COUNTRY, during the *Unnatural Rebellion*, begun in 1641.
- IV. The *Loyal Confessors*: In a brief Account of the most Eminent Sufferers, by Imprisonment, Banishment, or in Estate, for the Cause of His Sacred Majesty.

The Sixth Edition, very much enlarged.

To which is added,

An Historical PREFACE, by a True Churchman.

L O N D O N:

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T H E

P R E F A C E.

IT hath been a common Observation, even to a Proverb, though a right Use hath rarely been made of it, That *what is best and most excellent in its Use, becomes the worst and most pernicious in its Corruption and Abuse.* Food in Health, and Physick for the Recovery of Health, are not only necessary, but have a peculiar Excellency in their Kind: without the one we cannot live at all; and if any thing amiss befalls us, (which is frequently the Case of most Persons) without the Help of Medicine to recover a sound State, all the Comforts of Life vanish: but if our Diets be render'd unwholsome, and our Medicaments corrupted, our Food becomes our Poison, and our Remedy our Disease; and instead of expecting Sustenance or Succour from either, we may cry out with the Sons of the Prophets, 2 Kings iv. 40. *There is Death in the Pot.* So also our Rights, Liberties and Properties are secured to us by the Laws: And where there are good Laws, and those good Laws in good Hands, there either is no Wrong done, or a speedy Re-

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medy;

medy ; so that there is no-where such comfortable and safe living, as where just Laws are put in Execution by righteous Judges : But when the Sense and true Meaning of the Laws is perverted, when they are made use of contrary to their Ends and Designs, to serve wicked Purposes, when they are managed by corrupt Judges, or seized by unjust Powers ; then, what was intended for our Security, becomes our Destruction ; and not only Mens Liberties and Estates, but their very Lives are taken away, under the Plea and Colour of those Laws, which were originally and truly designed for their Protection and Preservation. But, of all things, nothing hath a greater and more powerful Influence on the Affairs of human Life, than Religion, as that which affects not only their present Concern, but their future and eternal Welfare. Now when Religion is true, pure, and undefiled, it is always peaceable ; it sweetens our sour and corrupt Natures ; it not only ties up Mens Hands from doing Harm, but inclines them to do all Goodness and Kindness, and that not only to Friends and Relations, but to all Sorts of Men, yea even to our Enemies ; it not only restrains Men from doing, but from so much as contriving, meditating, or thinking any Wrong or Detriment to others : so that did Religion in its Truth and Power possess Mens Souls, it would have that Effect upon their Lives and Actions, that they would be a constant
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Comfort, Succour, and Assistance to each other ; and so careful and tender would they be one of another's Good, that it would bring down a kind of Heaven upon Earth : but when once ill Principles are imbibed under the Notion of *Religion*, instead of cooling Mens Heats, it sets them on Fire ; no Stop can be put to the most outrageous Proceedings ; for they glory in the most *horrid Villanies*, as the carrying on *God's Cause*, and really possess themselves with an Opinion, *That the killing even the best of Men, is doing him Service.* There can be nothing more barbarous and bloody-minded than a *mad Zealot* : This is palpably evident in the Case of the *Jews*, who not only stoned and killed their Prophets, but under a Notion of Zeal for their *Temple* and *Law*, often sought Occasion to murder even their *Saviour* himself, and in the End effected it. But I think we, of all Men, have little Need to seek for Instances abroad, who have such numerous and tragical Examples of it at home, that we may cry out with the Poet,

Quid non Religio potuit suadere malorum ?

We have known the best of Kings, in the open Face of the World, with the impudent Pageantry and Pretence of Justice, contrary to all Law, Justice, and Piety, by his own Subjects, in cool Blood solemnly butchered at his own Palace Gate ; the chiefest and best

of his faithful Subjects pick'd out to be made publick Sacrifices; thousands slaughter'd, so that the Nation was made little better than a common Shambles: The rest harass'd, imprisoned, sequestred, fined, 'till they were undone, and at length come to that desperate bloody Debate, that, had not one *single Vote* turn'd the Scales, it had been resolv'd to massacre every Mother's Child that had any thing of *Honesty* or *Loyalty* remaining in them. And after all this, they were not so demure Villains, as only to wipe their Mouths, and say they had done no Hurt, but openly vaunted that they had wrought a *blest Reformation*; call'd it *fighting God's Battles*, when it was against his *Anointed*: *Plundering* and *Robbery*, was spoiling the *Egyptians*; *murdering faithful Subjects*, was bringing *Delinquents to Justice*: and as if the altering the Names could change the Nature of Things, the most sanguinary Actions, and unparallel'd Villanies, they endeavour'd to sanctify with the Style of carrying on the *Cause of God and Religion*; as if *Religion* could justify the utmost Impiety; and *God* could be pleas'd with what *Hell* would blush at.

Such shameless Proceedings and matchless Barbarities have been notoriously acted among us, of which perhaps we, in some measure, feel the Effects at this Day; and God knows whether, in time, we may not much more, if due Care be not taken in time to remove the Causes; for where there is
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the same Debauchery of Principles, and Rancour of Mind, it may justly be expected that it should break out into the same Practices, whenever an unhappy Opportunity offers itself. Upon this Account then, it may not be unadviseable to inquire after the Occasions and Causes of such Mischiefs, by what Steps and Degrees they grew ripe, and how brought about ; that we may either thence learn how to prevent them for the future, or at least how to take an honest Care of ourselves, and how to demean and behave ourselves as becomes Christians under such difficult Circumstances.

The whole World, I think, may have just Cause to curse those Men who first set *Honesty* and *Policy* together by the Ears ; for though *Honesty* may often want the Assistance of Prudence for its good Conduct and Management, yet no Arts or Contrivances, how specious soever, ought to be allowed, which are separate from *Honesty* ; nay, let them be never so fine and politick, the more remote they are from *Honesty*, the more they ought to be abominated : and though they may seem to serve some present Turn, and gain considerable Advantage ; yet often, in their Consequence, and in Process of Time, they bring on a greater Mischief ; of which if we are not, I think we may, and ought to be sensible in our own Case. If the *Seventeen Provinces* were upon such Terms with respect to their Subjection to *Philip* the Second, King

of *Spain*, That if he violated certain Conditions, he did then fall from his Sovereignty over them, and they might resume their Liberty, and settle under what Sort of Government they pleased; then they ought not to be said to *Rebel*, but to *Affert* their *Rights*; and those Provinces now under the King of *Spain* might have lawfully done the same Thing, which was done by those now call'd the *United Netherlands*: But if there were no such Conditions, or those Conditions not broken, then their Opposition would be no other but Rebellion; and until such time as he quitted or renounced it, he had as good Right to the *Democratical* Provinces, as to those others which continue under his Subjection. Reasons on both Sides were urged in Council, both for and against Queen *Elizabeth's* undertaking their Protection, which are set down by Mr. *Camden* in his *Annals*: And truly to me it seems somewhat odd to set up such a Sovereignty as should constantly tempt Subjects (too forward of themselves) to *Resistance*, and furnish them with a Pretence to justify it: and, on the other hand, the *Dutch* would take it very ill, at this time of Day, to be told they were once *Rebels*, though they taught the *Englisb* to be such; and therefore I will not meddle with the Determination of the Case, but shall only make some little Inquiry, what Influence that falling out may, by times, have had upon us.

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Whatever Advantage they may seem to gain thereby, it is of dangerous Consequence for Princes to stir up the Subjects of other Princes to Rebellion, and still worse to assist them in it; for thereby they not only set an Example, but, as it were, sign a Warrant for their own Subjects to take the same Course, whenever the like Incitements, Provocations, and Opportunities are given them. *Philip* the Second, King of *Spain*, was thought to be the most politick Prince of his Time, and though he seemed to be very devout, and strictly religious, yet his Conscience never boggled at any Practices which might advance his Interest and Grandeur. His Wife Queen *Mary* dying without Issue, he lost the sweet Morfel of *England*, by which he might not only have kept the *Netherlands* in Awe, but hoped to have laid a Foundation for the *Western Monarchy*; and when he found he could by no Means gain his Ends upon Queen *Elizabeth*, he became her implacable Enemy, and by both secret and open Practices, endeavoured to dethrone her, and possess himself of her Kingdom. At first Emissaries were sent over to stir up her Subjects of the *Roman* Faction to Rebellion, with the Encouragement of Foreign Aids to assist them; and Plots and Contrivances were laid to take away her Life by *Poison*, or otherwise, till at last it came to open Force; but by the Providence of God, and the prudent Care of her Majesty, and her Council, all his Projects

Projects were defeated, and still turn'd to his own Hurt and Damage. But the Queen, enraged at such foul and dangerous Practices, began to entertain Thoughts, *That that which was Sauce for a Goose, might serve as Sauce for a Gander*; and endeavour'd to repay him in his own Kind: To this End, by assisting the *Dutch* against him, she rais'd such a Combustion in his own Bowels, that the *Spanish* Monarchy hath ever since been, more or less, troubled with the *Gripes*; and instead of recovering its former *Greatness*, hath ever since decay'd both in *Power* and *Interest*.

It is true, that by this *dangerous*, I had almost said, *desperate* Course, she drove the Wolf from her own Door; but whether we are not in a great Measure indebted to it for other ensuing Mischiefs, I leave to the Consideration of those who will be at the Pains to inquire and observe what followed thereupon. *Camden* observes of *Holland* and those Parts, That it was *Ferax Hæreticorum Provincia*, though now we have so far outstripp'd our first Instructors, that we may be stiled *Feracior Hæreticorum Insula*; in Requital for our Assistance and Trade, they furnished us with new-fangled and turbulent Opinions; and from thence with the first (as my Author tells me) came over hither a most pernicious Sect, under a most specious and inviting Name, call'd, *The Family of Love*; among the Doctrines they taught, he sets down these, *Solos in illam Familiam adscitos electos*

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electos esse & salvandos, reliquos omnes reprobos & dammandos; illisq; licitum esse negare jurjurando quicquid lubet coram Magistratu, aut quovis alio, qui non sit ex ipsorum Familia. I am not careful to translate it, because I think it better in *Latin* than in *English*, though good in no Language. Besides these, there arose a hot Sort of Men, of imbitter'd and daring Spirits, who inveigh'd against the Government and Discipline of the Church (which was a Curb to their Extravagance) as *Anti-christian* and *Popish*, and set up for Reformers. And upon what Foot soever the Dutch at first maintain'd their Revolt from the Spaniard, it is plain, that as they grew in Strength, they fram'd to themselves Schemes of *Anti-monarchical Principles*; and many of our Soldiers, and Merchants, and People that were among them, either imbib'd them unawares, or were deluded with them, or took them up upon Discontent, or the like Causes; till at length, those who were at first despised or neglected, began to grow numerous and troublesome, and offer at the Disturbance of the State; which when Queen *Elizabeth* discovered, she executed some of the Ringleaders, which so terrified the rest, that they either sculk'd in Corners, or behav'd themselves with more Modesty, and she had Quiet for her Time. If any blame her for this necessary Severity, they may do well to consider, Whether it be not better and easier to

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stop a Mischief in the Beginning, than to give it Time till it grows too strong for you?

This sharp Warning did neither convert, nor convince these Men of lewd Principles; but taught them more Cunning than to shew their Teeth, till they could bite; but then followed the soft and peaceable Reign of King *James* the First, which gave them, if not all the Advantages they desired, yet more than they could have hoped for. He came to the Crown with an unquestionable Title, but being a Foreigner born, and coming from a People betwixt whom and his *English* Subjects there had been long Animosities and Quarrels, it concern'd him to win them all he could with Affability and Courtesy, though this too often hath a contrary Effect upon ill Natures, and designing Persons. Another Faculty he had, which contributed much to their Growth and Multiplication; for being bred a Scholar, and of himself bookishly inclin'd, he had perhaps somewhat too much Confidence in his own Abilities that way, and thought to bring these People over, and convince them by Argument; but when Men are riveted in an Interest, and have set their Hearts upon a Design, bare Reasoning rarely prevails with them. His admitting them to Conferences, gave a Reputation to their Party, and made them considerable in the Eyes of the People; and though they were baffled in the Dispute, yet they took the Confidence to report it otherwise, and boasted how the
King

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King and his Bishops were worsted, and this lessen'd their Esteem both of him and the Church, and confirm'd them in the Opinion of their own Way. It perhaps was not amiss to hear what they could say for themselves, and to give them Satisfaction by Reason; but the Case being clear'd, it concern'd a King to *rule*, as well as to *talk*. This Easiness gave them Opportunity to increase and strengthen themselves, and new Opinions were broach'd, but however they disagreed among themselves, still they unanimously bent themselves against *Church and State*, as their *common Enemy*: And for their greater Encouragement, there was a violent heady Party in *Scotland*, which added Life to their Projects, and Hopes to gain their Design in Time. What Prudence there was in sending a Bishop to the Synod of *Dort*, when the *Dutch* had laid aside that Order, and sacrilegiously seized the Revenues of the Church, and converted them to their own Use, I will be no Judge. But some have not stuck to say, That it look'd too much like a tacit Approbation of those who were forming *Presbyteries* at Home, and a Derogation to the Order of Bishops, to send one to sit and vote among those whose Mission and Authority was at best disputable, and who were known Enemies of the Order. All this while the *Papists*, who had failed in their Attempts, stood looking on, glad to see others playing that Game which they had lost, and hoping
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to make their Market of it in the End: And a Man would be apt to think, that they privately lent their helping Hand, if it were but for this Reason, That those Men who every-where made most horrid Out-cries against *Papists* and *Popery*, now took up several of the most pernicious Principles of the most *Jesuited Papists*, and out-did 'em in them; they were as good at *Equivocations* and *Reservations* as the best of them, no Obligations or Oaths could bind them, and if the *Papists* sought for a Dispensation from others, they had a Trick beyond them, and could every Man dispense with himself. With these Arts they now began to creep into and get Possession of the Churches, they could (though perhaps sometimes with some seeming Difficulty) subscribe the *Articles*, take the Oath of *Canonical Obedience* to the *Bishop*, and of *Allegiance* to the *King*, and as soon as they came to their Parish, rail at the *Articles*, mangle the *Liturgy*, or wholly reject it, and preach against all the *Order* and *Discipline* of the *Church*; and he that was most disobedient and refractory against his *Bishop*, was accounted the most zealous, pious, and sanctify'd Man: And thus they not only gull'd and deluded the People, but set them on Fire. To these may be added, That the long Peace during the Reign of King *James*, did not well agree with a restless People; The Quarrel with the *Spaniard* in the Time of Queen *Elizabeth*, cut out brave Work for
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our Men of Mettle, the rich Prizes to be gotten was a Spur to their Valour, and many gain'd both Honour and Wealth; and the Succours she sent to the *Dutch* found Business and Employment for our martial or turbulent Spirits; but in the Reign of King *James*, the Soldiers being laid aside, like rusty Armour, grew angry and discontented, and began to make *Lampoons* and *Devices* upon the Government; to ridicule which, was drawn a Knight arm'd *Cap-a-Pee*, lying fast asleep, with this Motto:

Æquora tuta silent.

And divers others of the like Nature were devised and spread abroad, which shew'd a general Dissatisfaction in those Sort of Men, nor did most of them bring home very good Principles, who had been employed in the Wars of the *Netherlands*. There were also many who were Enemies to the *Church*, as having sacrilegiously enriched themselves with her Lands; and others there were, who had an Eye upon the Remainder, and long'd for her Ruin upon no Account so much, as that they might be Sharers in the Spoils. These generally joined themselves to the *Puritanical Party*, and made it their Business to encourage and protect their Ministers and fiery Zealots against both *Church* and *State*; and by this they got the Name of *Patriots*, and *Lovers* of their *Country*, among all that were
disaffected

disaffected to the Government, which now began to be the prevailing Part of the Nation; and this *Itch* of Applause so stuck to them, and their Posterity, that Enmity to the Government, like Original Sin, was transmitted from the Parents to the Children, and became hereditary to the Families. From these, and other Things which might be observ'd, I fear it may be too truly said, *That the Scene of the Son's Ruin was lain in the Reign of the Father.*

When I reflect upon the long and peaceable Reign of King *James I.* I cannot have altogether so hard Thoughts, as I have been sometimes inclin'd to have of that harsh State-Maxim of Judge *Dyer*, as to the *English* Nation, viz. *That there be often Wars.* For though War be a Trade of Blood, brings Desolations and Ruins, and often falls heaviest upon the most harmless and innocent, so that it can never be desired for itself, nor ought to be undertaken without a just Cause; yet if it be not maintain'd too long, nor carried on too far, and the main Stake never brought in Hazard, it hath often good Effects. For it purgeth a Kingdom of ill Humours, finds Business for troublesome and warlike Spirits, diverts them from evil Designs at Home, by making them look about to secure their own Safety; it takes off that Fear of an Enemy which is begotten by long Peace, and a sleepy Security, and makes them ready to resist Danger, and prevents their quar-

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quarrelling with one another, of which a special Care ought to be taken as to the *English*; for if they be not sometimes moderately exercised against others, certainly there is no Nation under the Heavens more prone to fall out among themselves.

But to return to our Business. The Seeds had been long sown, and now Matters were in a manner ripe for Rebellion, when King *Charles I.* came to the Throne, a Prince in whom we might have been too happy, had not his People been poison'd beyond any Help from an *Antidote of Goodness*. They were unmovable in their rebellious Resolution, their Measures were concerted, their Partizans numerous, they had wriggled themselves into many Offices of the greatest Power and Trust, and now wanted nothing but Opportunity, and something fit to head them for such a desperate and damnable Undertaking. To this End, they set their Hearts upon a *Parliament*, which if good, is the Glory and Security of the *English* Constitution; but if bad, is able at any time to embroil, if not overthrow it. They were now become so confident of carrying their Design, that some could not forbear to own it, and where they could not persuade, endeavoured to terrify Men into their Party. About the Year 1635, which was some Years before the War broke out, Mr. *W. P.* after better known by the Title of Colonel *P.* in Discourse with a Gentleman whom he was desirous to bring

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over to them, told him plainly, *That he should live to see the Time, that there should be no King in England.* Many of the Lords, to the Dilgrace and Prejudice of their Order, (for what must become of Honour, when the Fountain of it is dried up?) were already too much Encouragers and Abettors of them. But their great Business was to model a *House of Commons* for their Purpose; for this End, they used their utmost Endeavours to get such elected for *Members*, who were, as they pretended, not in the *Court* but the *Country's* Interest, but really and truly such as they knew to be Enemies to the Government and Constitution; and at last they gain'd that Point also; and what followed thereupon, many living can yet remember, and many Families feel to this Day. A large History would not be sufficient to set forth all their Ravages and Barbarities; the following Accounts of the inhuman Proceeding in their pretended Courts of Justice, may serve for a short Specimen of the good Nature and Piety of those pretended Saints; but the Bulk of them are enough to amaze, if not exceed the Belief of Posterity. But because setting down a Buoy may give Warning to avoid those Dangers, wherein others have miscarried, I will only lightly touch upon some of their Methods of proceeding, and so have done as to this Matter. In short, the whole was carried on with Lyes and Shams, not common and ordinary Lyes, but such

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such as any thinking Man in his Wits would judge incredible ; and with these they constantly alarm'd the People, and kept them so warm, that they gave them no time to think : if any Persons were eminently faithful to their Prince, they misrepresented all their Actions as Designs upon the State ; the best of Men they so blacken'd, that they were taken for common Enemies ; insomuch that a noble Peer observed, at the Tryal of Archbishop Laud, *That there was scarce any good Action which he had done in his whole Life, which they had not converted in to his Crime.*

That the Spaniards should belive the Story of *Kentish Long-Tails*, is no great Marvel ; but that People should be brought to a Belief, that their Fellow Subjects, that were born and bred amongst them, were scarce of *Human Kind*, but rather *Monsters* than *Men*, will seem very strange : and yet the Lord *Loughborough* at the Head of a Troop riding quietly and inoffensively through a long Country Town, where the King's Party had not appeared, the People came to their Doors, and with Amazement, lifting up their Hands, cry'd out, *Good Lord, why the Cavaliers are Men !* And I well remember, when there came a hot and frightful Report of a Plot of the *Cavaliers*, (for so the King's Party were then called) to undermine and blow up the *Thames*, and thereby ruin the City of *London*, and the Trade of the Nation ; I was then in a Place wholly devoted to the

Parliament's Interest, and I do not call to Mind, that I heard so much as one Man who question'd the Truth of the Story, or said any thing against the Possibility or Probability of it : but the general Cry was against the *Devilish Cavaliers*, who certainly traded with *Hell*, or else they could never have thought of such a damnable Device ; and no Punishment, no Death, was thought severe enough for them. But that which made the greatest Noise, and serv'd upon every Turn, and upon all Occasions, was, *Venient Romani* : There was scarce any thing so well constituted which they did not pick a Quarrel with ; and whatever stood in their Way was *Popish* and *Antichristian* : They cover'd their Designs of Blood and Slaughter, by frightening People out of their Wits with the chimerical Apprehensions of *Fire* and *Faggot* : the *King*, his *Council*, his *Ministers*, yea his whole *Party*, were represented as *Papists*, or *Popishly-affected* ; the *Church* was full of *Popery* ; all the *Orthodox* and *Loyal Clergy* were accused as *Papists* ; and, as if they thought God was delighted with Disorder and Slovenliness, all the Orders and Ornaments of the Church were *Relicks and Rags of the Whore of Babylon* : Nor was it the least thing which promoted their wicked Cause, to encourage the giddy Multitude to be *Reformers*, and applaud those as the only *good* and *Godly Men*, who in their furious and blind Zeal broke down *Organs*, tore *Surplices*, pull'd down
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Hangings, rifled the Monuments of the Dead, and batter'd Glafs-windows; by which Means many curious Pieces of Workmanship were destroy'd, and a Loss sustained which can never be repaired. I remember, that being in Company with some Clergy-men, one told this Story; That some of these Zealots coming into his Church, they presently espied in a Window the History of the Fourth Chapter of St. Matthew, representing the Devil tempting our Saviour: At which they cried out, Idolatry! and presently falling to Work, beat our Saviour all to Pieces; but notwithstanding all their Rage and Fury, left the Devil whole and intire. Upon which, one was pleas'd to make this Remark, That they were in the right; for (said he) the Devil was the Head of their Party, and they were doing his Work; and it became them to leave the Devil in Possession, when they were driving our Saviour out.

When by these, and such-like villainous Practices, they had got the Power into their Hands, then those tender-conscienc'd Rebels, who before us'd to cry out of *Persecution*, if their little Finger were but pinched, now were for destroying *Root and Branch*. The *Tryals and Relations* following, are but a small Part of the dismal Tragedy they acted. When they had murder'd their lawful King, and banish'd his innocent Children, to shew their Spite to the very Memory of *Monarchy*, they commanded the King's Arms, and all

the Royal Ensigns of Honour, to be defaced in all Places. I could name the Place, where their Zeal carried them so far, that they would have had the Table hanging in the Church, whereon the King's Arms were painted, to be chopt in Pieces, and publickly burnt : but one Person, not so hot-headed as the rest, persuaded them, That it would save Charges to blot out the King's Arms, and paint the *Breeches* in the Room ; and this frugal Advice prevailed with the covetous Saints, and the harmless Table was sav'd : But the Arms and Supporters of *Edward VI.* and the *Bohemian Arms*, the Acquest of the *Black Prince*, were painted upon several Pillars of the same Church, these were all ordered to be wash'd out ; and while Workmen were performing it, a Gentleman stept and ask'd them what they were doing ? They told him, they were putting out the King's Arms : upon which, he turning his Head, espy'd upon another Pillar the Picture of *Time* with his Hour-glass and Scythe ; to which pointing, said he, And what do you do with this Fellow ? They made Answer, That they had nothing to do with him. O, replied he, you do nothing in putting out the King's Arms, if you do not put out him, for *he'll set them up again.* He presently march'd off, took his Horse, and rode away ; and it was well he did, for Inquiry was made after him ; and had he been caught, he had certainly had a Stone Doublet for his Jest, besides other ill Usage.

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Their implacable Malice extended not only to the King, and his Family, but to all his Adherents; and those who escaped with their Lives, were sequestred, fined, imprisoned, and from time to time so harass'd, that many ancient and flourishing Families had scarce Bread to eat; nay, they laid their griping Hands not only upon those who had borne Arms, but upon such whom they only suspected not to be cordial to them; and it was Cause enough of Suspicion, if they had not appeared zealously for them: If any such had a *Criminal Estate*, it was sufficient to make them *Guilty*; witness the Case of the Lord *Craven*, whose large Possessions were seized and sold for a Song, and divided among their *Partizans*, though all the time he had been beyond the Seas, and acted on neither Side: the only Crime I could learn alledg'd against him at that time, was, that King *Charles II.* then beyond Sea, accidentally commending a Horse of his, he had made a Present of it to him. As for the loyal Clergy, they were thrust out by wholesale; the only Act of Mercy shew'd, was, that the marry'd Clergy were allowed the *Fifths*, though that was generally ill paid; but however, it was better than nothing. So careful were they, that none but *Trumpeters of Rebellion* should come into the Pulpits; that no Man was thought fit to be admitted to, or hold a Benefice, who did not rave against *Monarchy and Episcopacy*, and cry up the *Godly Parliament*: *Moderation*

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tion and *Modesty* were Crimes strongly suspected of *Malignancy*; no Man was safe, who was not violent; and it is almost incredible upon what frivolous, shameful Pretences they thrust sober Men out of their Livings, leaving them and their Families to starve. One Person, who had been the Son of a Citizen and Shopkeeper of *London*, they were resolved to drive away, but wanted a Colour for their Proceedings; at last a peeping Fellow inform'd against him, That he kept *Images* in his House. Now all these *Images* were only one, and that one was nothing else but a *Wooden Boy*, which was usually set upon the Bulk of his Father's Shop with a Pipe in his Mouth, as is commonly seen in *London*, and other great Towns: but it had been better for him, that his Father had left no such Asset, or that he had timely disposed of it; for the keeping the *Father's Boy* turn'd the *Son* out of Doors. There was a Clergyman, Neighbour to this same Person, who had a *scandalous*, that is, a good fat *Parsonage*, for which a *Dragooning Brother* had a longing Mind, and he was to be gratify'd right or wrong: The present Incumbent was a Man of a quiet Temper, and unexceptionable Conversation, but had the Unhappiness sometimes to express his Thoughts in a very odd, blundering way; upon Consultation, they could not imagine how to fasten any thing upon him, unless, by bringing him before a *Committee of Tryers*, they could, upon Examination, pick a Quarrel

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rel with some of his Answers, and accordingly it happened to their Mind ; for the first Question put to him was, *What is Repentance?* To which he unluckily made Answer, *It is a Turning Topsy-turvy.* Now, though considering the Man, this Answer might have admitted of a favourable Interpretation ; yet they made it little less than *Blasphemy*, and thereby found Means to teach him better to understand the Nature of Repentance, by turning him to Grass, and putting their Creatures into Possession of his Living. But when I recall to Mind how these Men extoll'd the Scriptures at that prodigious Rate, and so, in Opposition to every thing else, that they made it almost scandalous for any Man to be skill'd in that kind of Learning which best enables him to understand it ; I cannot but wonder at their Impudence in a Trick they openly put upon another. There was a Minister, as they call'd them, in whose Coat they could pick no Hole, saving that he had been observ'd to be somewhat negligent in keeping their *Fasts* and *Thanksgivings*, (and perhaps he did not like them) ; hereupon a peremptory Order was sent to him to keep a *Fast* then appointed, with all the tiresome Solemnity then in Use, and Persons for their Purpose were privately sent to hear and observe him with all Nicety : The Order was not to be disobey'd without the Loss of his Living ; and he took Care to carry his Cup so even, (which was no easy Matter) that it was thought he
had

had balk'd their Design; for they could lay hold of nothing in his *Prayer*, or his *Sermon*, wherewith to accuse him; so when nothing else would do, they turn'd him out for making Choice of a *malignant Text*; it was the last Verse of the *xiith Psalm*; *The wicked walk on every side, when the vilest men are exalted.*

It would be endless to reckon up the various and villainous Artifices, whereby they ruin'd Men in their Estates and Fortunes, whose Lives they could not reach without Damage to themselves, and using such Barbarity as was never heard of; and how, under Colour of establishing *Religion, Liberty, and Property*, they took away all *Three*; destroy'd the best established Church in the World; made Men little better than *Slaves*, and subjected every Man's *Property* to their *Arbitrary Will and Power*. But though it be uncomfortable to dwell longer on this melancholy Theme, yet it may not be amiss to try what good Use we can make of it; for the profitable, industrious *Bee*, with its pretty Chymistry, will draw Honey from the same Herb whence the *Spider* sucks *Poison*; and a wise, good Man will make some Advantage to himself, from the worst of Evils committed by others. And certainly any Man who is endued with any thing of true Honesty and Goodness, can do no less than take Occasion, from the Knowledge or History of such Practices, to abhor them, and take Care of himself, that he be no way tainted with,
or

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or engag'd in them: Evil Examples are recorded not for *Imitation*, but *Caution*, that we may avoid those Practices for which others are infamous; and by how much the worse and more mischievous are the Examples, so much the more deeply are they to be detested, and carefully shunn'd; and considering how much this Kingdom hath suffer'd, I hope none of my Countrymen will read this little Book without Grief of Heart for those Mens *Hypocrisy*, and utter Abhorrence of their *Wickedness*.

Another good Document for our Benefit, which naturally flows from the Consideration of these wicked Practices, is, *Not to judge of Things by Success*: The Generality of Persons are most affected with what is present, without well weighing Matters, or looking far before them; and it is a strong Temptation to most Men to run to the winning Side, nay it often staggers wise and good Men, when they see daring Villainy thrive and prosper, and a righteous Cause run down, and all that espouse it crush'd and persecuted; no meaner a Person than Holy *David* confesseth, what a Stumbling-Block this was some time to him, and then well may it be so to others: But it is an Infirmary which we must not yield to, but conquer. For he that will always suppose those to be in the *Wrong* who suffer, and their *Cause* to be just who prosper, must condemn our *Blessed Saviour*, and all his *Apostles*, and acquit *Herod*,
and

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and *Pontius Pilate*; nay, at this rate, even our *Holy Religion* itself must fall under Condemnation, it being a Doctrine of the *Cross*, and constantly calling on its Votaries to prepare for *Sufferings* and *Persecutions*, and not to faint or fall away, when they come upon them. Others may boast of their *Successes*, and *Strokes of Providence*; but do not think the *God of Heaven* to be like the Goddess *Victoria*, who was always on the *Conqueror's* Side; for a Christian, whatever befalls him in this World, must look to his *Cause*, and see that it be *right*, and adhere to it to the End.

Upon this Account, I shall further infer what I think naturally flows from the Premises, *viz. That there is a Judgment to come*: For you may as well call in Question the *Being*, as the *Justice*, of God. If therefore the God of Justice do permit impious Men here to carry on their wicked Designs, to be successful in their Attempts, to flourish themselves, and trample down all that comply not with them; and his own faithful Servants to be destitute, afflicted, tormented, and often in the most cruel and merciless Manner to be bereav'd of Life itself, surely there is a Time appointed for an After-Reckoning, wherein he will vindicate his own Honour and Justice in the *Punishment* of the one, and the *Reward* of the other. He that had seen or known the pious King *Charles I.* and the most Reverend Archbishop *Laud*,
both

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both of blessed Memory, used like Scoundrels, with all the Contempt and spiteful Treatment imaginable, and at last openly and insultingly murder'd, and *Cromwell* and *Bradshaw* grow great by Villainy, tyrannize over all Persons, prosper in their Undertakings, live to a considerable Age, and at last die quietly in their Beds, must certainly think, (if he ever did seriously think) that this could not be the End of all Things with them; but will be forced to conclude, either that a Hearing of these Things shall hereafter be brought before the *Just God*, or constrained to aver, (what the Fool durst only presume to say in his Heart) *That there is no God.* The Time of this Life is a State of *Probation ship*, wherein every Man is upon his Behaviour, either for *future Felicity*, or *Misery*; and God not only made Man a free Agent, but hath tender'd him Succours to supply his Defects, and enable him for his Duty, if he will use them. Not to suffer him to act like what he hath made him, were to overturn the Course of Nature; but if he will not observe the Commands of his Maker, he shall surely give Account for it: And though Wicked Men may be too hard for the Good, and instead of being brought to condign Punishment, be triumphant in their Wickedness here, yet doubtless they shall not escape the *Righteous Judgment of God.* It may seem a very hard Case, that a notorious Sinner should be cloathed in Purple, and fine Linen, and fare

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fare sumptuously every Day, whilst a good Man, like *Lazarus*, is over-run with Sores, or borne down with Afflictions: But when in another State, the good Man shall be refreshed in *Abraham's Bosom*, and the sometime successful Sinner shall cry out in *Hell* for a *Drop of Water to cool his Tongue*, and receive no other Answer, but, *Remember, Son, that thou in thy Life-time receivedst thy good things, and likewise Lazarus evil things; and therefore now he is comforted, and thou art tormented*; it will appear, that the Prosperity of the Wicked was their greatest Unhappiness, and the Sufferings of the Saints only an Augmentation of their Glory.

It may perhaps seem needless to add, That when Men have sorely suffered by ill Practices, and wicked Instruments, and have once been delivered and freed from them, it should awaken and rouse their Care and Courage to frustrate such wicked Designs, and prevent their falling under the like evil Circumstances again: It hath been a Proverbial Saying, *That Experience is the Mistress of Fools*. I suppose that the Meaning of it is, not that *Experience* teacheth only *Fools*, but that it is able to make even *Fools* wise; for otherwise, the wisest of Men must own *Experience* for their *Mistress*, as well as *Fools*: For he must be a Miracle in Nature, or have more than human Assistance, who, considering the Difficulties of the World, can be wise without any manner of Experience. But as for those
who

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who will neither be taught by Experience, nor learn by any Harms to beware, they are so much worse than Fools, that I am at a Loss for a Name by which to call them. When a *Sailor* hath suffer'd by a lamentable Shipwreck, and in the End almost by a Miracle escap'd, if after he hath *felt* and *known* the Danger, and how to avoid it, he will nevertheless *twice* split upon the same Rock, instead of pitying him, Men will be apt to say he deserv'd to be drown'd. He that hath been burnt, will surely of Course dread, and take Care to secure himself against Fire; but as for him who will take Warning from no Harms, all Advice is in vain bestow'd upon him.

A

T A B L E

T O T H E

Black Tribunal.

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ENG-

ENGLAND's Black Tribunal:

Set forth in the

T R Y A L

OF

King CHARLES the First,

BEFORE THE

PRETENDED High Court of Justice,
in Westminster-Hall,

Begun Saturday the 20th of January, 1648.

Officers of the Court.

John Bradshaw, President.

Isaac Dorislaus, Mr. Aske, Counsellors who drew up the
Charge, and assisted.

Mr. Cooke, Solicitor-General.

Mr. Broughton, Mr. Phelps, Clerks of the Court.

Mr. Dandy, Serjeant at Arms, Mace-bearer.

Col. Humphreys, Sword-bearer.

Mr. Walford, Mr. Radley, Mr. Pain, Mr. Powel, Mr.
Hull, Tip-staves and Messengers.

The First Day's PROCEEDINGS.

ON Saturday, being the 20th Day of January, 1648, the Lord Bradshaw, President of the High Court of Justice, with about seventy of the Members of the said Court, having Colonel Fox, and sixteen Gentlemen with
B Partizans,

Partizans, and a Sword borne by Colonel *Humphreys*, and a Mace by Serjeant *Dandy*, with their and other Officers of the said Court marching before them, came to the Place order'd to be prepared for their Sitting, at the West End of the Great Hall in *Westminster*; where the Lord President, in a Crimson Velvet Chair, fixed in the midst of the Court, placed himself, having a Desk with a Crimson Velvet Cushion before him; the rest of the Members placing themselves on each Side of him, upon the several Seats, on Benches prepared and hung with Scarlet for that Purpose, and the Partizans dividing themselves on each Side of the Court before them.

The Court being thus set, and Silence made, the great Gate of the said Hall was set open, to the end that all Persons, without Exception, desirous to see or hear, might come into it; upon which the Hall was presently filled, and Silence again ordered.

This done, Colonel *Thomlinson*, who had the Charge of the King, as a Prisoner, was commanded to bring him to the Court, who, within a Quarter of an Hour's Space, brought him, attended with about twenty Officers, with Partizans marching before him, there being Colonel *Hacker*, and other Gentlemen, to whose Care and Custody he was likewise committed, marching in his Rear.

Being thus brought up within the Face of the Court, the Serjeant at Arms, with his Mace, receives and conducts him strait to the Bar, where a Crimson Velvet Chair was set for the King. After a stern looking upon the Court, and the People in the Galleries on each Side of him, he places himself, not at all moving his Hat, or otherwise shewing the least Respect to the Court; but presently rises up again, and turns
about,

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about, looking downwards upon the Guards placed on the Left-side, and on the Multitude of Spectators on the Right-side of the said great Hall. After Silence made among the People, the Act of Parliament for the Trying of *CHARLES STUART*, King of *England*, was read over by the Clerk of the Court; who sat on one Side of the Table, covered with a rich *Turkey Carpet*, and placed at the Feet of the said Lord President, upon which Table was also laid the Sword and Mace.

After reading the said Act, the several Names of the Commissioners were called over, every one who was present rising-up, and answering to his Call.

The King having again placed himself in his Chair, with his Face towards the Court, Silence being again order'd and proclaim'd; the Lord President, in the Name of the Court, address'd himself to the Prisoner, acquainting him,

That the Commons of England, assembled in Parliament, being deeply sensible of the Calamities that have been brought upon this Nation, (which is fixed upon Him, as the principal Author of it) have resolved to make Inquisition for Blood; and according to that Debt and Duty they owe to Justice, to God, the Kingdom, and themselves, and according to the Fundamental Power that rests in themselves, They have resolv'd to bring him to Tryal and Judgment; and for that Purpose, have constituted this High Court of Justice, before which he was then brought, where he was to hear his Charge, upon which the Court would proceed according to Justice.

This said, Mr. Cook, Solicitor-General for the Common-wealth, (standing within a Bar on the Right-hand of the King) offer'd to speak; but the King, having a Staff in his Hand, held it up, and laid it upon the said Mr. Cook's Shoulder two

or three Times, bidding him hold: Nevertheless, the Lord President ordering him to go on, Mr. Cook did, by Order of the Court to him directed, in the Name, and on the Behalf of the People of *England*, exhibit a Charge of High Treason, and other High Crimes, and did therewith accuse the said *Charles Stuart*, King of *England*, praying it might be read; which the King interrupting, the Court notwithstanding commanded the Clerk to read it, acquainting the Prisoner, That if he had any Thing to say after, the Court would hear him. Whereupon the Clerk read the Charge, the Tenor whereof is as followeth, *viz.*

A CHARGE of High Treason, and other High-Crimes, exhibited to the *High Court of Justice*, by *John Cook*, Esq; appointed by the said Court, for, and on the Behalf of the People of *England*, against **CHARLES STUART**, King of *England*.

THAT be the said **CHARLES STUART**, being admitted King of *England*, and therein trusted with a limited Power, to govern by and according to the Laws of the Land, and not otherwise; And by his Trust, Oath, and Office, being obliged to use the Power committed to him, for the Good and Benefit of the People, and for the Preservation of their Rights and Liberties; Yet nevertheless, out of a wicked Design to erect and uphold in himself an Unlimited and Tyrannical Power, to rule according to his Will, and to overthrow the Rights and Liberties of the People; Yea, to take away and make void the Foundations thereof, and of all Redress and Remedy of Mis-government, which by the fundamental Constitutions of this Kingdom were reserved on the People's Behalf, in the Right and Power of frequent and successive Parliaments, or National Meetings in Council;
He,

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He, the said CHARLES STUART, for Accomplishment of such his Designs, and for the protecting of himself and his Adherents, in his and their wicked Practices, to the same End, hath traiterously and maliciously levied War against the Parliament, and the People therein represented.

Particularly, upon or about the Thirtieth Day of June, in the Year of our Lord One Thousand Six hundred Forty-two, at Beverly in the County of York; and upon or about the Thirtieth Day of July, in the Year aforesaid, in the County of the City of York; and upon or about the Twenty-fourth Day of August, in the same Year, at the County of the Town of Nottingham (when and where he set up his Standard of War); and upon or about the Twenty-third Day of October, in the same Year, at Edge-hill, and Keinton-field, in the County of Warwick; and upon or about the Thirtieth Day of November, in the same Year, at Brentford, in the County of Middlesex; and upon or about the Thirtieth Day of August, in the Year of our Lord One thousand Six hundred Forty-three, at Caversham-bridge, near Reading, in the County of Berks; and upon or about the Thirtieth Day of October, in the Year last mentioned, at or near the City of Gloucester; and upon or about the Thirtieth Day of November, in the Year last mentioned, at Newbury, in the County of Berks; and upon or about the One and thirtieth Day of July, in the Year of our Lord One thousand Six hundred Forty and four, at Cropredy-bridge, in the County of Oxon; and upon or about the Thirtieth Day of September, in the last Year mentioned, at Bodmin, and other Places near adjacent, in the County of Cornwall; and upon or about the Thirtieth Day of November, in the last Year mentioned, at Newbury aforesaid; and upon or about the Eighth of June, in the Year of our Lord One thousand Six hundred Forty and five, at the

Town of Leicester; and also upon the Fourteenth Day of the same Month, in the same Year, at Naseby-field, in the County of Northampton. At which several Times and Places, or most of them, and at many other Places in this Land, at several other Times, within the Years asforemention'd, and in the Year of our Lord One thousand Six hundred Forty and six, he the said CHARLES STUART, hath caused and procured many Thousands of the Free-people of the Nation to be slain; and by Divisions, Parties, and Insurrections, within this Land, by Invasions from Foreign Parts, endeavoured and procured by him, and by many other evil Ways and Means, He the said CHARLES STUART, hath not only maintained and carried on the said War, both by Land and Sea, during the Years before-mentioned; but also hath renewed, or caused to be renewed, the War against the Parliament, and good People of this Nation, in this present Year One thousand Six hundred Forty and eight, in the Counties of Kent, Essex, Surry, Suffex, Middlesex, and many other Counties and Places in England and Wales, and also by Sea: And particularly, He the said CHARLES STUART hath, for that Purpose, given Commission to his Son the Prince, and others, whereby, besides Multitudes of other Persons, many such as were by Parliament entrusted and employed for the Safety of the Nation, being by him or his Agents corrupted, to the betraying of their Trust, and revolting from the Parliament, have had Entertainment and Commission for the continuing and renewing of War and Hostility against the said Parliament and People, as asoresaid. By which cruel and unnatural Wars by him the said CHARLES STUART, levied, continued, and renewed, as asoresaid, much innocent Blood of the Free-people of this Nation hath been spilt, many Families have been undone, the Publick Treasury wasted and exhausted, Trade obstructed, and miserably

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miserably decayed, vast Expence and Damage to the Nation incurred, and many Parts of the Land spoiled, some of them even to Desolation.

And for the further Prosecution of his said evil Designs, he the said CHARLES STUART doth still continue his Commissions to the said Prince, and other Rebels and Revolters, both English and Foreigners, and to the Earl of Ormond, and to the Irish Rebels and Revolters associated with him; from whom further Invasions upon this Land are threatned, upon the Procurement, and on the Behalf of the said CHARLES STUART.

All which wicked Designs, Wars, and evil Practices of him the said CHARLES STUART have been, and are carried on, for the advancing and upholding of a Personal Interest of Will and Power, and pretended Prerogative to himself and his Family, against the publick Interest, common Right, Liberty, Justice and Peace of the People of this Nation, by and for whom he was intrusted, as aforesaid.

By all which it appeareth, That he the said CHARLES STUART, hath been, and is the Occasioner, Author, and Contriver, of the said Unnatural, Cruel and Bloody Wars, and therein guilty of all the Treasons, Murders, Rapines, Burnings, Spoils, Desolations, Damage, and Mischiefs to this Nation acted or committed in the said Wars, or occasion'd thereby.

And the said John Cook, by Protestation, saving on the Behalf of the People of England, the Liberty of exhibiting, at any Time hereafter, any other Charge against the said CHARLES STUART, and also of replying to the Answers which the said CHARLES STUART shall make to the Premises, or any of them, or any other Charge that shall be so exhibited, doth for the said Treasons and Crimes, on the Behalf of the said

People of *England*, impeach the said *CHARLES STUART* as a Tyrant, Traitor, Murderer, and a public and implacable Enemy to the Commonwealth of *England*: And pray, that the said *CHARLES STUART*, King of *England*, may be put to answer all and every the Premises; That such Proceedings, Examinations, Tryals, Sentence, and Judgment, may be thereupon had, as shall be agreeable to Justice.

Subscribed, *John Cook.*

His Majesty, with his wonted Patience, heard all these Slanders and Reproaches, sitting in his Chair, and looking sometimes on the pretended Court, sometimes up to the Galleries, and rising again, turn'd about to behold the Guards and Spectators; then he sat down with a Majestick and unmov'd Countenance, and sometimes smiling, especially at these Words, [*Tyrant, Traitor*] and the like.

Also the Silver Head of his Staff happen'd to fall off, at which he wonder'd, and seeing none to take it up, he stoop'd for it himself.

The Charge being read, *Bradshaw* began:

Sir, you have now heard your Charge read, containing such Matters as appear in it; you find, that in the Close of it, it is prayed to the Court, in the Behalf of the Commons of *England*, that you answer to your Charge: The Court expects your Answer.

King. I would know by what Power I am called hither: I was, not long ago, in the *Isle of Wight*; how I came there is a longer Story than I think is fit at this Time for me to speak of; but there I entred into a Treaty with both Houses of Parliament, with as much Public Faith as 'tis possible to be had of any People in the World.

I treated there with a Number of Honourable Lords and Gentlemen, and treated honestly and uprightly; I cannot say but they did very nobly with me: We were upon a Conclusion of the Treaty. Now I would know by what Authority (I mean lawful; there are many unlawful Authorities in the World; Thieves and Robbers by the Highways: But I would know by what Authority) I was brought from thence, and carried from Place to Place (and I know not what); and when I know by what lawful Authority, I shall answer.

Remember I am your King, your Lawful King, and what Sins you bring upon your Heads, and the Judgment of God upon this Land. Think well upon it, I say, think well upon it, before you go further from one Sin to a greater. Therefore let me know, by what Authority I am seated here, and I shall not be unwilling to answer; in the mean Time, I shall not betray my Trust; I have a Trust committed to me by God, by Old and Lawful Descent, I will not betray it, to answer to a new unlawful Authority; therefore resolve me that, and you shall hear more of me.

Bradshaw. If you had been pleased to have observed what was hinted to you by the Court at your first coming hither, you would have known by what Authority; which Authority requires you, in the Name of the People of *England*, of which you are elected King, to answer.

King. No, Sir, I deny that.

Bradshaw. If you acknowledge not the Authority of the Court, they must proceed.

King. I do tell them so; *England* was never an Elective Kingdom, but an Hereditary Kingdom, for near these thousand Years; therefore let me know by what Authority I am called hither. I do stand more for the Liberty of my People than any here, that come to be my pretended

tended Judges ; and therefore let me know by what lawful Authority I am seated here, and I will answer it, otherwise I will not answer it.

Bradshaw. Sir, how really you have managed your Trust is known : Your Way of Answer is to interrogate the Court, which beseems not you in this Condition. You have been told of it twice or thrice.

King. Here is a Gentleman [Lieutenant-Colonel *Cobbet*] ; ask him if he did not bring me from the *Isle of Wight* by Force. I do not come here as submitting to the Court.

I will stand as much for the Privilege of the House of Commons, rightly understood, as any Man here whatsoever. I see no House of Lords here that may constitute a Parliament, and the King too should have been.

Is this the bringing the King to his Parliament ? Is this the bringing an End to the Treaty in the Public Faith of the World ?

Let me see a Legal Authority warranted by the Word of God, the Scripture, or warranted by the Constitutions of the Kingdom, and I will answer.

Bradshaw. Sir, you have propounded a Question, and have been answered : Seeing you will not answer, the Court will consider how to proceed ; in the mean Time, those that brought you hither, are to take Charge of you back again.

The Court desires to know, whether this be all the Answer you will give, or no ?

King. Sir, I desire you would give me, and all the World, Satisfaction in this ; let me tell you, it is not a slight Thing you are about. I am sworn to keep the Peace, by that Duty I owe to God and my Country, and I will do it to the last Breath of my Body ; and therefore you shall do well to satisfy, first God, and then the Country,

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try, by what Authority you do it; if you do it by an usurped Authority, that will not last long; there is a God in Heaven that will call you, and all that give you Power, to account. Satisfy me in that, and I will answer; otherwise I betray my Trust, and the Liberties of the People; and therefore think of that, and then I shall be willing: For I do avow, that it is as great a Sin to withstand Lawful Authority, as it is to submit to a Tyrannical, or any other unlawful Authority; and therefore satisfy God and me, and all the World in that, and you shall receive my Answer: I am not afraid of the Bill.

Bradshaw. The Court expects you should give them a final Answer. Their Purpose is to adjourn till *Monday* next: If you do not satisfy yourself, though we do tell you our Authority, we are satisfied with our Authority, and it is upon God's Authority and the Kingdom's; and that Peace you speak of will be kept in the doing of Justice, and that's our present Work.

King. For Answer, Let me tell you, you have shewn no Lawful Authority to satisfy any reasonable Man.

Bradshaw. That's in your Apprehension, we are satisfied that are your Judges.

King. 'Tis not my Apprehension, nor yours neither, that ought to decide it.

Bradshaw. The Court hath heard you, and you are to be disposed of as they have commanded.

So commanding the Guard to take him away,
His Majesty only replied, *Well, Sir.*

And at his going down, pointing with his Staff towards the *Charge*, he said, *I do not fear that.*

As he went down the Stairs, the People in the Hall cried out, *God save the King*; notwithstanding

ing some were set there by the Faction to head the Clamour for Justice.

O yes being called, the Court adjourned till *Monday next, Jan. 22. at Nine in the Morning, to the Painted-Chamber, and from thence to the same Place again in Westminster-Hall.*

Sunday the 21st of January.

THIS Day *Bradshaw, Cromwell, and the rest of the Commissioners, kept a Fast at White-hall, where preach'd, First, Mr. Sprigge; his Text was; He that sheds Man's Blood, by Man shall his Blood be shed.*

Next, *Mr. Foxley, his Text; Judge not, lest ye be judged.*

Last, *Mr. Hugh Peters, his Text was; I will bind their Kings in Chains, and their Nobles in Fetters of Iron.*

Such was the Mode of those impious Hypocrites, who used to preface Rebellion and Murder with the Appearance of Religion.

*The Second Day's PROCEEDINGS,
At the HIGH COURT of JUSTICE, sitting in
Westminster-Hall.*

Monday the 22d of January, 1648.

O Yes made, the Court called and answered to their Names.

Silence commanded upon Pain of Imprisonment, and the Captain of the Guard to apprehend all such as make Disturbance.

The

King CHARLES the First. 13

The King being brought Prisoner to the Bar,
Mr. Cook began:

Mr. Cook. May it please your Lordship, my Lord President, I did, in the last Court, in the Behalf of the Commons of England, exhibit and give into this Court a Charge of High Treason, and other Crimes against the Prisoner at the Bar, whereof I do accuse him in the Name of the People of England, and the Charge was read unto him, and his Answer required. My Lord, he was not then pleased to give an Answer, but instead of answering, did there dispute the Authority of this High Court. My humble Motion to this High Court, in Behalf of the People of England, is, That the Prisoner may be directed to make a positive Answer, either by way of Confession or Negation; which if he shall refuse to do, that the Matter of Charge may be taken pro confesso, and the Court may proceed according to Justice.

Bradshaw. Sir, you may remember, at the last Court you were told the Occasion of your being brought hither, and you heard a Charge against you, containing a Charge of High Treason, and other High Crimes, against this Realm of England: You heard likewise, that it was prayed in the Behalf of the People, that you should give an Answer to that Charge, that thereupon such Proceedings might be had as should be agreeable to Justice; you were then pleased to make some Scruples concerning the Authority of this Court, and knew not by what Authority you were brought hither; you did divers times propound your Questions, and were as often answered, that it was by Authority of the Commons of England, assembled in Parliament, that did think fit to call
you

you to Account for those high and capital Misdemeanors wherewith you were then charged.

Since that, the Court hath taken into Consideration what you then said ; they are fully satisfied with their own Authority, and they hold it fit you should stand satisfied with it too ; and they do require it, that you do give a positive and particular Answer to this Charge that is exhibited against you ; they do expect you should either confess or deny it ; if you deny, it is offered in the Behalf of the Nation, to be made good against you ; their Authority they do avow to the whole World, That the whole Kingdom are to rest satisfied in, and you are to rest satisfy'd with it ; and therefore you are to lose no more Time, but to give a positive Answer thereunto.

King. When I was here last, 'tis true, I made that Question ; and truly, if it were only my own particular Case, I would have satisfied myself with the Protestation I made, the last Time I was here, against the Legality of this Court, and that a King cannot be tried by any superior Jurisdiction on Earth ; but it is not my Case alone, it is the Freedom and Liberty of the People of *England*, and do you pretend what you will, I stand more for their Liberties. For if Power without Law, may make Laws, may alter the Fundamental Laws of the Kingdom, I do not know what Subject he is in *England*, that can be sure of his Life, or any Thing that he calls his own ; therefore, when that I came here, I did expect particular Reasons, to know by what Law, what Authority you did proceed against me here ; and therefore I am a little to seek what to say to you in this Particular, because the Affirmative is to be proved, the Negative often is very hard to do : But since I cannot persuade you to do it, I shall tell you my Reasons as short as I can.

My

King CHARLES the First. 15

My Reasons why, in Conscience, and the Duty I owe to God first, and my People next, for the Preservation of their Lives, Liberties and Estates; I conceive I cannot answer this, till I be satisfied of the Legality of it.

All Proceedings against any Man whatsoever—

Bradshaw. Sir, I must interrupt you, which I would not do, but that what you do is not agreeable to the Proceedings of any Court of Justice; you are about to enter into Argument, and dispute concerning the Authority of this Court, before whom you appear as a Prisoner, and are charged as an high Delinquent; if you take upon you to dispute the Authority of the Court, we may not do it, nor will any Court give way unto it; you are to submit unto it, you are to give in a punctual and direct Answer, whether you will answer to your Charge or no, and what your Answer is.

King. Sir, by your Favour, tho' I do not know the Forms of Law, I do know Law and Reason; though I am no Lawyer professed, yet I know as much Law as any Gentleman in *England*; and therefore (under Favour) I do plead for the Liberties of the People of *England* more than you do; and therefore if I should impose a Belief upon any Man without Reason given for it, it were unreasonable; but I must tell you, That that Reason that I have as thus informed, I cannot yield unto it.

Bradshaw, Sir, I must interrupt you, you may not be permitted; you speak of Law and Reason, it is fit there should be Law and Reason, and there is both against you. Sir, the Vote of the Commons of *England* assembled in Parliament, it is the Reason of the Kingdom, and they are these too that have given that Law, according to which you should have ruled and reigned. Sir,
you

you are not to dispute our Authority, you are told it again by the Court. Sir, it will be taken Notice of, that you stand in Contempt of the Court, and your Contempt will be recorded accordingly.

King. I do not know how a King can be a Delinquent, not by any Law that ever I heard of; all Men, (Delinquents or what you will) let me tell you, they may put in Demurrers against any Proceedings as legal, and I do demand that, and demand to be heard with my Reasons; if you deny that, you deny Reason.

Bradshaw. Sir, you have offered something to the Court; I shall speak something unto you, the Sense of the Court. Sir, neither you, nor any Man, are permitted to dispute that Point; you are concluded, you may not demur the Jurisdiction of the Court; if you do, I must let you know, that they over-rule your Demurrer; they sit here by the Authority of the Commons of *England*, and all your Predecessors and you are responsible to them.

King. I deny that, shew me one Precedent.—

Bradshaw. Sir, you ought not to interrupt while the Court is speaking to you: This Point not to be debated by you, neither will the Court permit you to do it; if you offer it by way of Demurrer to the Jurisdiction of the Court, they have considered of their Jurisdiction, they do affirm their own Jurisdiction.

King. I say, Sir, by your Favour, that the Commons of *England* was never a Court of Judicature; I would know how they came to be so.

Bradshaw. Sir, you are not to be permitted to go on in that Speech, and these Discourses.

Then

Then the Clerk of the Court read :

CHARLES STUART, *King of England*, You have been accused on the Behalf of the People of England, of High Treason, and other High Crimes : The Court have determined, that you ought to Answer the same.

King. I will Answer the same, as soon as I know by what Authority you do this.

Bradshaw. If this be all that you will say, then, Gentlemen, you that brought the Prisoner hither, take Charge of him back again.

King. I do require that I may give in my Reasons why I don't Answer, and give me Time for that.

Bradshaw. Sir, 'Tis not for Prisoners to require.

King. Prisoners, Sir ? I am not an ordinary Prisoner.

Bradshaw. The Court hath consider'd of their Jurisdiction, and they have already affirmed their Jurisdiction ; if you will not Answer, we shall give Order to record your Default.

King. You never heard my Reasons yet.

Bradshaw. Sir, Your Reasons are not to be heard against the highest Jurisdiction.

King. Shew me that Jurisdiction where Reason is not to be heard.

Bradshaw. Sir, We shew it you here, the Commons of England ; and the next time you are brought, you will know more of the Pleasure of the Court, and, it may be, their final Determination.

King. Shew me where ever the House of Commons was a Court of Judicature of that kind.

Bradshaw. Serjeant, Take away the Prisoner.

King. Well, Sir, remember, that the King is

not suffered to give his Reasons for the Liberty and Freedom of all his Subjects.

Bradshaw. Sir, You are not to have Liberty to use this Language : How great a Friend you have been to the Laws and Liberties of the People, let all *England*, and the World judge.

King. Sir, Under Favour, it was the Liberty, Freedom, and Laws of the Subject that ever I took — defended myself with Arms ; I never took up Arms against the People, but for the Laws.

Bradshaw. The Command of the Court must be obey'd : No Answer will be given to the Charge.

King. Well, Sir.

Then the Lord President ordered the Default to be recorded, and the Contempt of the Court, and that no Answer would be given to the Charge.

The King was guarded forth to Sir Robert Cotton's House.

Then the Court adjourned to the *Painted Chamber* on *Tuesday* at twelve o'Clock ; and from thence they intend to adjourn to *Westminster Hall*, at which time all Persons concerned are to give their Attendance.

His Majesty not being suffer'd to deliver his Reasons against the Jurisdiction of the pretended Court, by Word of Mouth, thought fit to leave them in Writing to the more impartial Judgment of Posterity, as followeth :

*H*AVING already made my Protestations, not only against the Illegality of this pretended Court, but also, that no earthly Power can justly call Me (*who am your King*) in question, as a Delinquent ; I
would

would not any more open my Mouth upon this Occasion, more than to refer myself to what I have spoken, were I in this Case alone concerned. But the Duty I owe to God, in the Preservation of the true Liberty of my People, will not suffer me at this time to be silent : For how can any free-born Subject of England call Life, or any thing he possesseth, his own, if Power without Right daily make new, and abrogate the old fundamental Law of the Land ? which I now take to be the present Case. Wherefore, when I came hither, I expected that you would have endeavoured to have satisfied me, concerning these Grounds which hinder me to answer to your pretended Impeachment ; but since I see that nothing I can say will move you to it, (though Negatives are not so naturally proved as Affirmatives) yet I will shew you the Reason why I am confident you cannot judge me, nor indeed the meanest Man in England ; for I will not (like you) without shewing a Reason, seek to impose a Belief upon my Subjects.

* There is no Proceeding just against any man, but what is warranted either by God's Laws, or the municipal Laws of the Country where he lives. Now I am most confident, this

* Hereabout I was stop'd, and not suffer'd to speak any more concerning Reasons.

Days Proceeding cannot be warranted by God's Law ; for, on the contrary, the Authority and Obedience unto Kings is clearly warranted and strictly commanded both in the Old and New Testament ; which, if denied, I am ready instantly to prove.

And for the Question now in hand, there it is said, That where the Word of a King is, there is Power ; and who may say unto him, What doest thou ? Eccl. viii. 4. Then, for the Law of this Land, I am no less confident that no learned Lawyer will affirm, that an Impeachment can lie against the King, they all going in his Name : And one of their Maxims is, That the King can do no Wrong.

Besides, the Law upon which you ground your Proceedings must either be Old or New : If Old, shew it ; if New, tell what Authority, warranted by the fundamental Laws of the Land, bath made it, and when. But how the House of Commons can erect a Court of Judicature, which was never one itself, (as is well known to all Lawyers) I leave to God and the World to judge : And it were full as strange, that they should pretend to make Laws without King or Lords House, to any that have heard speak of the Laws of England.

And admitting, but not granting, that the People of England's Commission could grant your pretended Power, I see nothing you can shew for that ; for certainly you never asked the Question of the Tenth Man in the Kingdom ; and in this way you manifestly wrong even the poorest Ploughman, if you demand not his free Consent : Nor can you pretend any Colour for this your pretended Commission, without the Consent, at least, of the major Part of every Man in England, of whatsoever Quality or Condition, which I am sure you never went about to seek ; so far are you from having it. Thus you see that I speak not for my own Right alone, as I am your King, but also for the true Liberty of My Subjects, which consists not in the Power of Government, but in living under such Laws, such a Government, as may give themselves the best Assurance of their Lives, and Property of their Goods. Nor in this must or do I forget the Privileges of both Houses of Parliament, which this Day's Proceedings do not only violate, but likewise occasion the greatest Breach of their Publick Faith, that (I believe) ever was heard of, with which I am far from charging the Two Houses : For all the pretended Crimes laid against Me, bear Date long before this late Treaty at Newport, in which I having concluded, as much as in Me lay, and hopefully expecting the Houses Agreement thereunto, I was suddenly surpriz'd, and hurried from thence as a Prisoner ;
upon

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upon which account I am, against my Will, brought hither; where, since I am come, I cannot but, to my Power, defend the ancient Laws and Liberties of this Kingdom, together with my own just Right. Then, for any thing I can see, the Higher House is totally excluded; and for the House of Commons, it is too well known that the major Part of them are detained or deterred from sitting: so as, if I had no other, this were sufficient for Me to protest against the Lawfulness of your pretended Court. Besides all this, the Peace of the Kingdom is not the least of my Thoughts; and what Hopes of Settlement is there, so long as Power reigns without Rule or Law, changing the whole Frame of that Government, under which this Kingdom hath flourished for many hundred Years? (nor will I say what will fall out, in case this lawless, unjust Proceeding against Me do go on) And, believe it, the Commons of England will not thank you for this Change; for they will remember how happy they have been of late Years under the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, the King my Father, and my Self, until the beginning of these unhappy Troubles, and will have Cause to doubt, that they shall never be so happy under any new. And by this time it will be too sensibly evident, that the Arms I took up, were only to defend the fundamental Laws of this Kingdom, against those who have suppos'd my Power hath totally changed the ancient Government.

Thus having shewed you briefly the Reasons why I cannot submit to your pretended Authority, without violating the Trust which I have from God, for the Welfare and Liberty of my People; I expect from you, either clear Reasons to convince my Judgment, shewing me that I am in an Error, (and then truly I will Answer) or that you will withdraw your Proceedings.

This I intended to speak in Westminster-Hall, on Monday Jan. 22d; but, against Reason, was hinder'd to shew my Reasons.

*The Third Day's Proceedings,
At the High Court of Justice sitting in West-
minster-Hall, Tuesday Jan. 23d, 1648.*

O YES made. Silence commanded. The Court called. Seventy-three Persons present.

The King comes in with his Guard, looks with an austere Countenance upon the Court, and sits down.

The second O Yes made, and Silence commanded, Cook began more insolently :

Cook. *May it please your Lordship, my Lord President, this is now the third time that, by the great Grace and Favour of this High Court, the Prisoner hath been brought to the Bar before any Issue joined in the Cause. My Lord, I did at the first Court exhibit a Charge against him, containing the highest Treason that ever was wrought upon the Theatre of England ; That a King of England, trusted to keep the Law, that had taken an Oath so to do, that had a Tribute paid him for that End, should be guilty of a wicked Design to subvert and destroy our Laws, and introduce an arbitrary and tyrannical Government, in the Defiance of the Parliament and their Authority, set up his Standard for War against his Parliament and People : And I did humbly pray, in the Behalf of the People of England, that he might speedily be required to make an Answer to the Charge.*

But, my Lord, instead of making any Answer, he did then dispute the Authority of this High Court. Your Lordship was pleased to give him a further Day, to consider and to put in his Answer ; which Day being Yesterday, I did humbly move, that he might be required to give a direct and positive Answer, either
by

King CHARLES the First. 23

by denying or Confession of it : but, my Lord, he was then pleased for to demur to the Jurisdiction of the Court ; which the Court did then over-rule, and command him to give a direct and positive Answer.

My Lord, Besides this great Delay of Justice, I shall now humbly move your Lordship for speedy Judgment against him. My Lord, I might press your Lordship upon the Whole, That according to the known Rules of the Law of the Land, That if a Prisoner shall stand as Contumacious in Contempt, and shall not put in an issuable Plea, Guilty or Not Guilty of the Charge given against him, whereby he may come to a fair Tryal ; that as by an implicit Confession, it may be taken pro confesso, as it hath been done to those who have deserved more Favour than the Prisoner at the Bar has done : But besides, my Lord, I shall humbly press your Lordship upon the whole Fact ; the House of Commons, the supreme Authority and Jurisdiction of the Kingdom, they have declared, That it is notorious, that the Matter of the Charge is true, as it is in Truth (my Lord) as clear as Crystal, and as the Sun that shines at Noon-day ; which if your Lordship and the Court be not satisfied in, I have, notwithstanding, on the People of England's Behalf, several Witnesses to produce : And therefore I do humbly pray, and yet I must confess it is not so much I, as the innocent Blood that hath been shed, the Cry whereof is very great for Justice and Judgment ; and therefore I do humbly pray, that speedy Judgment be pronounced against the Prisoner at the Bar.

Bradshaw went on in the same Strain :

Bradshaw. Sir, you have heard what is moved by the Counsel, in Behalf of the Kingdom against you. Sir, you may well remember, and if you do not, the Court cannot forget, what dilatory

Dealing the Court hath found at your Hands ; you were pleased to propound some Questions, you have had your Resolutions upon them. You were told over and over again, That *the Court did affirm their own Jurisdiction ; That it was not for you, nor any other Man, to dispute the Jurisdiction of the supreme and highest Authority of England, from which there is no Appeal, and touching which there must be no Dispute ; yet you did persist in such Carriage, as you gave no manner of Obedience, nor did you acknowledge any Authority in them, nor the High Court that constituted this Court of Justice.*

Sir, I must let you know from the Court, that they are very sensible of these Delays of your's, and that they ought not, being thus authorized by the supreme Court of *England*, to be thus trifled withal ; and that they might in Justice, if they pleased, and according to the Rules of Justice, take Advantage of these Delays, and proceed to pronounce Judgment against you ; yet nevertheless, they are pleased to give Direction, and on their Behalves I do require you, that you make a positive Answer unto this Charge that is against you. Sir, in plain Terms, for Justice knows no Respect of Persons, you are to give your positive and final Answer in plain *English*, whether you be Guilty or Not Guilty of these Treasons laid to your Charge.

The King, after a little Pause, said,

When I was here Yesterday, I did desire to speak for the Liberties of the People of *England* ; I was interrupted ; I desire to know yet, whether I may speak freely, or not.

Bradshaw. Sir, you have had the Resolution of the Court upon the like Question the last Day,

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Day, and you were told, *That having such a Charge of so high a Nature against you, and your Work was, that you ought to acknowledge the Jurisdiction of the Court, and to answer to your Charge;* Sir, if you answer to your Charge, which the Court gives you Leave now to do, though they might have taken the Advantage of your Contempt; yet if you be able to answer to your Charge, when you have once answered, you shall be heard at large, make the best Defence you can. But, Sir, I must let you know from the Court, as their Commands, that you are not to be permitted to issue out into any other Discourses, till such Time as you have given a positive Answer concerning the Matter that is charged upon you.

King. For the Charge, I value it not a Rush; it is the *Liberty* of the People of *England* that I stand for; for Me to acknowledge a new Court that I never heard of before, I that am your King, that should be an Example to all the People of *England*, for to uphold Justice, to maintain the old Laws; indeed I do not know how to do it.

You spoke very well the first Day that I came here (on *Saturday*) of the Obligations that I had laid upon me by God, to the Maintenance of the Liberties of my People: The same Obligation you spake of, I do acknowledge to God that I owe to him and to my People, to defend, as much as in me lies, the ancient Laws of the Kingdom; therefore until that I may know that this is not against the fundamental Laws of the Kingdom, by your Favour, I can put in no particular Answer: If you will give me Time, I will then shew you my Reasons why I cannot do it, and this——

Here being interrupted, he said,

By

By your Favour, you ought not to interrupt me.

How I came here I know not, there's no Law for it, to make your King your Prisoner : I was lately in a Treaty upon the Publick Faith of the Kingdom, that was the known—the two Houses of Parliament, that was the Representative of the Kingdom ; and when that I had almost made an End of the Treaty, then I was hurried away and brought hither ; and therefore——

Bradshaw. Sir, you must know the Pleasure of the Court.

King. By your Favour, Sir.——

Bradshaw. Nay, Sir, by Your Favour, you may not be permitted to fall into these Discourses ; you appear as a Delinquent, you have not acknowledged the Authority of the Court ; the Court craves it not of you ; and once more they command you to give your positive Answer. ——

Clerk. Do your Duty.

King. Duty, Sir !

The Clerk reads :

CHARLES STUART, *King of England*, you are accused in the *Behalf of the Commons of England*, of divers High Crimes and Treasons, which Charge hath been read unto you ; the Court now requires you to give your positive and final Answer, by Way of Confession or Denial of the Charge.

King. Sir, I say again unto you, so that I might give Satisfaction to the People of *England*, of the Clearness of my Proceedings, not by Way of Answer, not in this Way, but to satisfy them that I have done nothing against that Trust that hath been committed to me, I would do it ; but to acknowledge a new Court against their Privileges, to alter the fundamental Laws of the Kingdom ; Sir, you must excuse me.

Brad-

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Bradshaw. Sir, this is the third time that you have publickly disown'd the Court, and put an Affront upon it; how far you have preserved the Privileges of the People, your Actions have spoke it; but truly, Sir, Mens Intentions ought to be known by their Actions; You have written your Meaning in bloody Characters throughout the whole Kingdom.

But, Sir, you understand the Pleasure of the Court—

Clerk, Record the Default.

And, *Gentlemen,* you that took Charge of the Prisoner, take him back again.

King. I will only say this one Word to you, if it were only my own Particular, I would not say any more, nor interrupt you.

Bradshaw. Sir, you have heard the Pleasure of the Court, and you are (notwithstanding you will not understand it) to find that you are before a Court of Justice.

Then the King went forth with his Guard.

And Proclamation was made, That all Persons who had then appeared, and had further to do at the Court, might depart into the *Painted Chamber*; to which Place the Court did forthwith adjourn, and intended to meet in *Westminster-Hall*, by Ten of the Clock the next Morning.

Cryer. God bless the Kingdom of *England*.

Wednesday, Jan. 24. 1648. Painted Chamber.

THIS Day it was expected that the High Court of Justice would have met in *Westminster-Hall*, about Ten of the Clock; but at the Time appointed, one of the Ushers, by Direction of the Court, (then sitting in the *Painted Chamber*—

Chamber) gave Notice to the People there assembled, That in regard the Court was then taking into Consideration, how the Witnesses should be examined, in relation to present Affairs, in the *Painted Chamber*, they could not sit there, but all Persons appointed to be there, were to appear upon further Summons.

The Names of the Witnesses, whose several Depositions upon Oath were all to this Effect, That they had seen his Majesty at the Head of his Army, with his Sword drawn, and actually in several Battles, and that he levied Forces, and gave Commissions, &c.

William Cuthbert of Patrington in Holderness,
Gent.

John Bennet of Harwood in the County of York,
Glover.

William Brayne of Wixhall in Salop, *Gent.*

Henry Hartford of Stratford upon Avon in Warwickshire.

Robert Lacy of the Town of Nottingham, *Painter.*

Edward Roberts of Bishops-Castle, Salop, *Iron-monger.*

Robert Loads of Cottam in Northamptonshire.

S. Morgan of Wellington in the County of Salop,
Feltmaker.

James Williams of Ross in Herefordshire, *Shoemaker.*

John Pyneger of Hayner in Derbyshire.

Samuel Lawson of Nottingham, *Maltster.*

Arthur Young, *Barber-Surgeon*, London.

Thomas Whittington of Nottingham, *Shoemaker.*

John Thomas of Denbigh, *Labourer.*

Richard Blomfield of London, *Weaver.*

William Jones of Usk in the County of Monmouth,
Labourer.

Hum-

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Humphrey Brown of Whitfondine, in the County of Rutland, Labourer.

David Evans of Abergavenny in the County of Monmouth, Smith.

Diogenes Edwards of Carlston in the County of Salop, Butcher.

Giles Gryce of Wellington in the County of Salop, Gent.

John Vinson of Damorham in the County of Wilts, Gent.

George Seely of London, Shoemaker.

John Moor of Cork in Ireland, Gent.

Thomas Ives of Boyset in Northamptonshire, Labourer.

Thomas Rawlins of Hanslop, Bucks, Gent.

Thomas Read of Maidstone in Kent, Gent.

James Crosby of Dublin in Ireland, Barber.

Samuel Burden of Lyneham in the County of Wilts, Gent.

Michael Potts of Sharperefton in Northumberland, Vintner.

George Cornwall of Aston, in the County of Hereford, Ferryman.

Henry Gooche of Grays-Inn, Middlesex, Gent.

Robert Williams of the Parish of St. Martins, Cornwall, Husbandman.

Richard Price of London, Scrivener.

Most of these were Soldiers, and bore Arms against His Majesty.

Thursday Jan. 25. 1648. Painted Chamber.

THE foregoing Witnesses sworn in open Court, and their Depositions taken; upon the whole Matter.

Resolved, That this Court will proceed to Sentence of Condemnation against Charles Stuart, King of England.

Re-

Resolved, That the Condemnation of the King shall be for a Tyrant, Traytor, and Murtherer.

That the Condemnation of the King shall be likewise for being a publick Enemy to the Commonwealth of England.

That this Condemnation shall extend to Death.

Friday, Jan. 26. 1648. Painted Chamber.

THE Draught of a Sentence against the King is according to the Votes of the 25th Instant prepared; and after several Readings, Debates, and Amendments, by the Court thereupon,

Resolved, &c. That this Court do agree to the Sentence now read.

That the said Sentence shall be ingrossed.

That the King be brought to Westminster-Hall To-morrow to recieve his Sentence.

*The Fourth Day's PROCEEDINGS,
Of the HIGH COURT of JUSTICE sitting in
Westminster-Hall.*

Saturday, the 27th of January, 1648.

**The Names of those Persons that were present at
the Sentence of the KING to Death.**

John Bradshaw, Presid.

John Lisle

William Say

Oliver Cromwell

Henry Ireton

Sir Hardress Waller

Sir John Bourchier, Knt.

William Hevingham

Alderman Pennington

Henry Marten

William Purefoy

John Barkstead

Matthew Tomlinson

John Blackiston

Gilbert Millington

Sir William Constable, Bar.

Ed-

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Edmond Ludlow
John Hutchinson
Sir Mich. Livesey, Bar.
Robert Titchbourne
Owen Roe
Robert Lilburn
Adrian Scroop
Richard Deane
John Okey
John Hewson
William Goffe
Cornelius Holland
John Carew
John Jones
Miles Corbet
Francis Allin
Peregrine Pelham
Daniel Blagrove
Valentine Walton
Thomas Harrison
Edward Whalley
Thomas Pride
Isaac Ewers
Lord Gray of Grooby
Sir John Danvers, Knt.
Sir Tho. Maleverer, Bar.

John Moor
John Aldred
Henry Smith
Humphrey Edwards
Gregory Clement
Thomas Wogan
Sir Gregory Norton, Knt.
Edmond Harvey
John Venn
Thomas Scot
Tho. Andrews, Alderm.
William Cawley
Anthony Stapely
John Downes
Thomas Horton
Thomas Hammond
Nicholas Love
Vincent Potter
Augustine Garland
John Dixwel
George Fleetwood
Simon Meyne
James Temple
Peter Temple
Thomas Waite.

O Yes made. Serjeant *Bradshaw*, Lord President, in his Scarlet Robe, (suitable to the Work of this Day) with sixty-six other Members of the Court, called. As the King came into the Court, in his usual Posture with his Hat on, a Cry was made in the Hall by some of the Soldiers for *Justice, Justice, and Execution*. But Silence being commanded, His Majesty began:

King. I desire a Word to be heard a little, and I hope I shall give no Occasion of Interruption.

Bradshaw. You may answer in your Time; hear the Court first.

King.

King. If it please you, Sir, I desire to be heard, and I shall not give any Occasion of Interruption; and it is only in a Word: A sudden Judgment —

Bradshaw. Sir, you shall be heard in due Time, but you are to hear the Court first.

King. Sir, I desire it; it will be in order to what I believe the Court will say: And therefore, Sir, a hasty Judgment is not so soon recalled.

Bradshaw. Sir, you shall be heard before the Judgment be given, and in the mean Time you may forbear.

King. Well, Sir, Shall I be heard before the Judgment be given?

Bradshaw. Gentlemen, It is well known to all or most of you here present, That the Prisoner at the Bar hath been several Times convented and brought before the Court, to make answer

Here an Honourable Lady interrupted the Court, saying, Not half the People; but she was soon silenced.

to a Charge of Treason and other High Crimes exhibited against him, in the Name of the People England; to which Charge being required to answer, he hath been so far from obeying the Commands of the Court, by submitting to their Justice, as he began to take upon him to offer Reasoning and Debate upon the Authority of the Court, and of the highest Court that constituted them to Try and Judge him; but being over-ruled in that, and required to make his Answer, he was still pleased to continue contumacious, and to refuse to submit or answer.

Hereupon the Court, that they may not be wanting to themselves, nor the Trust reposed in them, nor that any Man's Wilfulness prevent Justice, they have thought fit to take the Matter into Consideration; they have considered of the Charge;

Charge ; they have considered of the Contumacy, and of that Confession which in Law doth arise upon that Contumacy ; they have likewise considered of the Notoriety of the Fact charged upon the Prisoner ; and, upon the whole Matter, they are resolved, and have agreed upon a Sentence to be now pronounced against this Prisoner : But, in respect he doth desire to be heard before the Sentence be read and pronounced, the Court hath resolved that they will hear him.

Yet, Sir, thus much I must tell you beforehand, which you must have been minded of at other Courts, That if that you have to say, be to offer any Debate concerning Jurisdiction, you are not to be heard in it ; you have offered it formerly, and you have indeed struck at the Root, that is, the Power and Supreme Authority of the Commons of *England*, which this Court will not admit a Debate of, and which indeed is an irrational Thing in them to do, being a Court that acts upon Authority derived from them. But, Sir, if you have any thing to say in Defence of yourself concerning the Matters charged, the Court hath given me Command to let you know they will hear you.

King. Since I see that you will not hear any thing of Debate, concerning that which I confess I thought most material for the Peace of the Kingdom, and for the Liberty of the Subject, I shall wave it, I shall speak nothing to it ; but only I must tell you, That this many a-day all Things have been taken away from me, but that, that I call more dear to me than my Life, which is, *My Conscience* and *my Honour* ; and if I had respect to *my Life*, more than the *Peace* of the *Kingdom*, and the *Liberty* of the *Subject*, certainly I should have made a particular Defence for myself ; for by that at least-wise I might have de-

laid an ugly Sentence which I believe will pass upon me. Therefore certainly, Sir, as a Man that hath some Understanding, some Knowledge of the World, if that my true Zeal to my Country had not overborne the Care that I have of my own Preservation, I should have gone another way to work than that I have done. Now, Sir, I conceive, that an hasty Sentence once past, may be sooner repented than recalled; and truly the self-same Desire that I have for the Peace of the Kingdom, and the Liberty of the Subject, more than my own particular Ends, makes me now at last desire, *That I having something to say that concerns both, before Sentence be given, that I may be heard in the Painted Chamber before the Lords and Commons.* This Delay cannot be prejudicial to you, whatsoever I say; if that I say no Reason, those that hear me must be Judges, I cannot be Judge of that that I have; if it be Reason, and really for the Welfare of the Kingdom, and the Liberty of the Subject, I am sure on it, it is very well worth the hearing; therefore I do conjure you, as you love that you pretend, I hope it is real, the Liberty of the Subject, the Peace of the Kingdom; that you will grant me the Hearing, before any Sentence be passed; I only desire this, that you will take this into your Consideration, it may be you have not heard of it before hand; if you will, I'll retire, and you may think of it: But if I cannot get this Liberty, I do here protest, that these fair Shews of Liberty and Peace are pure Shews, and that you will not hear your KING.

Bradshaw. Sir, you have now spoken.

King. Yes, Sir.

Bradshaw. And this that you have said is a further declining of the Jurisdiction of this Court, which was the Thing wherein you were limited before.

King.

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King. Pray excuse me, Sir, for my Interruption, because you mistake me ; it is not a declining of it, you do judge me before you hear me speak ; I say, It will not, I do not decline it, though I cannot acknowledge the Jurisdiction of the Court : yet, Sir, in this give Leave to say, I would do it, though I did not acknowledge it in this ; I do protest it is not the declining of it, since I say, if that I do say any thing but that which is for the Peace of the Kingdom, and the Liberties of the Subject, then the Shame is mine : Now I desire that you would take this into your Consideration ; if you will, I'll withdraw.

Bradshaw. Sir, This is not altogether new that you have moved to us ; not altogether new to us, though the first time in Person you offer'd it to the Court. Sir, You say you do not decline the Jurisdiction of the Court.

King. Not in this that I have said.

Bradshaw. I understand you well, Sir : but nevertheless, that which you have offered, seems to be contrary to that Saying of your's ; for the Court are ready to give a Sentence : It is not as you say, *That they will not bear their King* ; for they have been ready to hear you, they have patiently waited your Pleasure, for three Courts together, to hear what you would say to the People's Charge against you ; to which you have not vouchsafed to give any Answer at all. Sir, This tends to a farther Delay : Truly, Sir, such Delays as these, neither may the Kingdom nor Justice well bear : You have had three several Days to have offer'd in this kind what you would have pleased : This Court is founded upon the Authority of the *Commons of England*, in whom rests the supreme Jurisdiction ; that which you now tender, is to have another Jurisdiction, and a *co-ordinate Jurisdiction*. I know very well, you ex-

press yourself, Sir, That notwithstanding that you would offer to the Lords and Commons in the *Painted Chamber*, yet nevertheless you would proceed on here, I did hear you say so : but, Sir, that you would offer there, whatever it is, must needs be in Delay of the Justice here ; so as if this Court be resolved and prepared for the Sentence, this that you offer, they are not bound in Justice to grant : but, Sir, according to that you seem to desire, and because you shall know the further Pleasure of the Court, upon that which you have moved, the Court will withdraw for a time.

King. Shall I withdraw ?

Bradshaw. Sir, You shall know the Pleasure of the Court presently.

The Court withdraws for half an Hour into the *Court of Wards*.

Serj. at Arms. The Court gives Command that the Prisoner be withdrawn ; and they give Order for his Return again.

About half an Hour being expired, the Court returns.

Bradshaw. Serjeant at Arms, Send for your Prisoner.

Which being done, he proceeded :

Sir, You were pleased to make a Motion here to the Court, to offer a Desire of your's, touching the propounding of somewhat to the Lords in the *Painted Chamber*, for the Peace of the Kingdom : Sir, You did in effect receive an Answer before the Court adjourned : Truly, Sir, their Withdrawing and Adjournment was *pro forma tantum*, for it did not seem to them that there was any Difficulty in the Thing ; they have considered
of

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of what you have moved, and have considered of their own Authority, which is founded, as hath been often said, upon the supreme Authority of the *Commons of England* assembled in Parliament. The Court acts according to their Commission, Sir: The Return I have to you from the Court is this, That they have been too much delay'd by you already; and this that you now offer, hath occasioned some little farther Delay; and they are JUDGES appointed by the highest Authority; and Judges are no more to delay, than they are to deny Justice. They are good Words in the *Great Old Charter of England*, *Nulli negabimus, nulli vendemus, nulli deferemus justitiam*: There must be no Delay. But the Truth is, Sir, and so every Man here observes it, That you have much delayed them in your Contempt and Default, for which they might have long since proceeded to Judgment against you; and notwithstanding what you have offered, they are resolved to proceed to Sentence and to Judgment, and that is their unanimous Resolution.

King. Sir, I know it is in vain for me to dispute: I am no *Sceptick*, for to deny the Power that you have; I know that you have Power enough. Sir, I confess, I think it would have been for the Kingdom's Peace, if you would have taken the Pains to have shewn the Lawfulness of your Power; for this Delay that I have desired, I confess it is a Delay very important for the Peace of the Kingdom; for it is not my Person that I look on alone, it is the Kingdom's Welfare, and the Kingdom's Peace; it is an old Sentence, *That we should think on long before we have resolved of great Matters suddenly*: Therefore, Sir, I do put at your Doors all the Inconveniency of an hasty Sentence. I confess, I have been here now, I think, this Week, this Day eight Days was the Day I came here first; but a little Delay of a

Day or two further may give Peace, whereas an hasty Judgment may bring on that Trouble and perpetual Inconveniency to the Kingdom, that the Child that is unborn may repent it; and therefore again, out of the Duty I owe to God and to my Country, do desire that I may be heard by the Lords and Commons in the *Painted Chamber*, or any other *Chamber* that you will appoint me.

Bradshaw. You have been already answered to what you even now moved, being the same you moved before, since the Resolution and the Judgment of the Court in it; and the Court now requires to know, whether you have any more to say for yourself, than you have said, before they proceed to Sentence.

King. I say this, Sir, That if you hear me, if you will give me but this Delay, I doubt not but I shall give some Satisfaction to you all here, and to my People after that; and therefore I do require you, as you will answer it at the dreadful Day of Judgment, That you will consider it once again.

Bradshaw. Sir, I have received Directions from the Court.

King. Well, Sir.

Bradshaw. If this must be reinforced, or any thing of this Nature, your Answer must be the same; and they will proceed to Sentence, if you have nothing more to say.

King. I have nothing more to say; but I shall desire that this may be entered what I have said.

Bradshaw. The Court then, Sir, hath something to say unto you; which although I know it will be very unacceptable, yet notwithstanding they are willing and are resolved to discharge their Duty.

Then *Bradshaw* went on in a long Harangue, endeavouring to justify their Proceedings, misapplying

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plying Law and History, and raking up and wresting whatsoever he thought fit for his Purpose, alledging the Examples of former Treasons and Rebellions, both at home and abroad, as authentick Proofs; and concluding, that the King was a Tyrant, Traytor, Murtherer, and Publick Enemy to the Commonwealth of England.

His Majesty having, with his wonted Patience, heard all these Reproaches, answered;

King. I would desire only one Word before you give Sentence, and that is, That you would hear me concerning those great Imputations that you have laid to my Charge.

Bradshaw. Sir, You must give me Leave to go on; for I am not far from your Sentence, and your Time is now past.

King. But I shall desire you will hear me a few Words to you; for, truly, whatever Sentence you will put upon me, in respect of those heavy Imputations, I see, by your Speech, you have put upon me, that, Sir, it is very true that —

Bradshaw. Sir, I must put you in mind: Truly, Sir, I would not willingly, at this time especially, interrupt you in any thing you have to say, that is proper for us to admit of: but, Sir, you have not owned us a Court; and you look upon us a sort of People met together, and we know what Language we receive from your Party.

King. I know nothing of that.

Bradshaw. You disavow us as a Court; and therefore, for you to address yourself to us, not to acknowledge us as a Court to judge of what you say, it is not to be permitted; and the Truth is, all along, from the first time you were pleased to disavow and disown us, the Court needed not have heard you one Word; for unless they be acknowledged a Court, and engaged, it is not

proper for you to speak. Sir, We have given you too much Liberty already, and admitted of too much Delay, and we may not admit of any farther: Were it proper for us to do, we should hear you freely, and we should not have declined to have heard you at large, what you could have said or proved on your Behalf, whether for totally excusing, or for in part excusing those great and heinous Charges, that in whole, or in part, are laid upon you. But, Sir, I shall trouble you no longer; your Sins are of so large a Dimension, that if you do but seriously think of them, they will drive you to a sad Consideration, they may improve in you a sad and serious Repentance; and that the Court doth heartily wish that you may be so penitent for what you have done amiss, that God may have Mercy, at leastwise, upon your better Part. Truly, Sir, for the other, it is our Parts and Duties to do that that the Law prescribes. We are not here *Jus dare*, but *Jus dicere*; we cannot be unmindful of what the Scripture tells us. For to acquit the Guilty, is of equal Abomination as to condemn the Innocent; we may not acquit the Guilty: What Sentence the Law affirms to a Traytor, Tyrant, and a Murtherer, and a Publick Enemy to the Country, that Sentence you are now to hear read unto you, and that is the Sentence of the Court.

Make an O Yes, and command Silence while the Sentence is read.

Which done, their Clerk *Broughton* read the Sentence drawn up in Parchment:

Whereas the Commons of England, in Parliament, have appointed them an High Court of Justice for the Trying of CHARLES STUART, King of England, before whom he had been three times convicted, and at the first time a Charge of High Treason,

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son, and other Crimes and Misdemeanors, was read in the Behalf of the Kingdom of England.

[Here the Charge was repeated.]

Which Charge being read unto him as aforesaid, He the said CHARLES STUART was required to give his Answer; but he refused so to do.

[Expressing the several Passages of his refusing in the former Proceedings.]

For all which Treasons and Crimes, this Court doth adjudge, That the said CHARLES STUART, as a Tyrant, Traytor, Murtherer, and a Publick Enemy, shall be put to Death, by the severing of his Head from his Body.

After the Sentence read, Bradshaw added, The Sentence now read and published, it is the Act, Sentence, Judgment, and Resolution of the whole Court.

Here the Court stood up, and assented to what the President said.

King. Will you hear me a Word, Sir?

Bradshaw. Sir, you are not to be heard after the Sentence.

King. No, Sir!

Bradshaw. No, Sir; by your Favour, Sir.

Guard, withdraw your Prisoner.

King. I may speak after the Sentence, by your Favour, Sir, I may speak after the Sentence ever. By your Favour hold, the Sentence, Sir, — I say, Sir, I do — I am not suffered to speak, expect what Justice other People will have.

O Yes, All manner of Persons that have any thing else to do, are to depart at this Time, and to give their Attendance in the Painted Chamber, to which Place this Court doth forthwith adjourn itself: Where being sat, it was ordered,

That

That Sir Hardress Waller, Col. Harrison, Com. Gen. Ireton, Col. Dean, and Col. Okey, are appointed a Committee to consider of the Time and Place for the Execution of the King, according to his Sentence given by the High Court of Justice.

And then the Court adjourned itself till *Monday Morning at Eight o'Clock to this Place.*

His Majesty being taken away by the Guards, as he passed down the Stairs, the insolent Soldiers scoffed at him, casting the Smoke of their Tobacco (a Thing very distasteful unto him) in his Face; his Majesty, according to his wonted Heroick Patience, took no more Notice of so strange and barbarous an Indignity, than to wipe it off with his Handkerchief.

As he passed along, hearing the Rabble of Soldiers crying out, *Justice! Justice!* he said,

Poor Souls! for a Piece of Money they would do so for their Commanders.

Being brought to Sir Robert Cotton's, and thence to *Whitehall*; the Soldiers continued their brutish Carriage toward him, abusing all that seemed to shew any Respect, or even Pity to him; not suffering him to rest in his Chamber, but thrusting in, and smoking their Tobacco, and disturbing his Privacy.

But through all these Tryals (unusual to Princes) he passed with such a calm and even Temper, that he let fall nothing unbeseeming his former Majesty and Magnanimity.

In the Evening, a Member of the Army acquainted the Committee with his Majesty's Desire, *That seeing they had passed a Sentence of Death upon him, and his Time might be nigh, he might see his Children; and Dr. Jaxon, Bishop of London,*
might

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might be admitted to assist him in his private Devotions, and receiving the Sacrament.

Both which at length were granted.

And the next Day, being Sunday, he was attended by the Guard to St. James's; where the Bishop preached before him upon these Words, In the Day when God shall judge the Secrets of all Men by Jesus Christ according to my Gospel.

A True Relation of the King's Speech to the Lady Elizabeth and the Duke of Gloucester, the Day before his Death.

HIS Children being come to meet him, He first gave his Blessing to the Lady Elizabeth, and bad her remember to tell her Brother James, whenever she should see him, that it was his Father's last Desire, that he should no more look upon Charles as his eldest Brother only, but be obedient unto him as his Sovereign; and that they should love one another, and forgive their Father's Enemies. Then said the King to her, *Sweet-heart, you'll forget this: No, (said she) I shall never forget it whilst I live; and pouring forth Abundance of Tears, promised him to write down the Particulars.*

Then the King taking the Duke of Gloucester upon his Knee, said, *Sweet-heart, now they will cut off thy Father's Head (upon which Words the Child looking very stedfastly on him) Mark, Child, what I say, They will cut off my Head, and perhaps make thee a King: But mark what I say, you must not be a King, so long as your Brothers Charles and James do live; for they will cut off your Brothers Heads (when they can catch them) and cut off thy Head too at last: And therefore I charge you do not be made a King by them. At which the Child sighing,*

ing, said, *I will be torn in Pieces first* : Which falling so unexpectedly from one so young, it made the King rejoice exceedingly.

Another Relation from the Lady Elizabeth's own Hand.

WHAT the King said on the 29th of January 1648, being the last Time I had the Happiness to see Him, He told me, He was glad I was come ; and although He had not Time to say much, yet somewhat He had to say to me, which he had not to another, or leave in Writing, because he feared their Cruelty was such, as that they would not have permitted him to write to me. He wished me not to grieve and torment myself for Him, for that would be a *glorious Death* that He should die, it being for the Laws and Liberties of this Land, and for maintaining the *true Protestant Religion*. He bid me read Bishop Andrews's Sermons, Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity, and Bishop Laud's Book against *Fisber*, which would ground me against Popery. He told me, He had forgiven all his Enemies, and hoped God would forgive them also ; and commanded us, and all the rest of my Brothers and Sisters, to forgive them. He bid me tell my Mother, That his Thoughts never strayed from Her, and that His Love should be the same to the last. Withal, He commanded me and my Brother to be obedient to Her, and bid me send His Blessing to the rest of my Brothers and Sisters, with Commendation to all His Friends.

So, after He had given me His Blessing, I took my Leave.

Further, He commanded us all to forgive those People, but never to trust them ; for they had been most false to Him, and to those that gave them
them

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them Power; and He feared also to their own Souls: And desired me not to grieve for Him, for he should die a *Martyr*, and that He doubted not but the Lord would settle His Throne upon His Son, and that we should be all happier than we could have expected to have been, if he had lived; with many other Things, which at present I cannot remember.

Elizabeth.

Painted Chamber, Lunæ, Jan. 29. 1648.

UPon Report made from the Committee for considering of the Time and Place for the executing of the Judgment against the King: That the said Committee have Resolved, That the open Street before *Whitehall* is a fit Place: And that the said Committee conceive it fit, That the King be there executed the Morrow, the King having already Notice thereof: The Court approved thereof, and ordered a Warrant to be drawn for that Purpose, which Warrant was accordingly drawn, and agreed unto, and ordered to be ingrossed; which was done, and Signed and Sealed accordingly, as followeth:

The Warrant for Beheading the King.

At the High Court of Justice for the Trying and Judging of Charles Stuart, King of England, January 29. 1648.

WHereas *CHARLES STUART*, King of *England*, is, and standeth Convicted, Attainted and Condemned of *High Treason*, and other *High Crimes*, and Sentence upon *Saturday* last was pronounced against Him by this Court, to be put to
Death

Death by the severing of his Head from his Body; of which *Sentence*, Execution yet remains to be done: These are therefore to Will and Require you to see the said *Sentence* Executed in the open Street before *Whitehall*, upon the Morrow, being the 30th Day of this Instant Month of *January*, between the Hours of Ten in the Morning, and Five in the Afternoon of the same Day, with full Effect: And for so doing, this shall be your Warrant. And these are to require all Officers and Soldiers, and other the good People of this *Nation of England*, to be assisting unto you in this Service.

Given under our Hands and Seals.

To Col. Francis Hacker, Col. Hunks, and Lieutenant Col. Phray, and to every of them:

Sealed and Subscribed by

J. Bradshaw, T. Grey, O. Cromwell, Ed. Whaley, M. Livesey, J. Okey, J. Danvers, R. Bourcier, H. Ireton, T. Maleverer, J. Blackstone, J. Hutchinson, W. Goffe, T. Pride, Pet. Temple, T. Harrison, John Hufon, H. Smith, Per. Pelham, Simon Meyne, T. Horton, J. Jones, J. Moore, Hardr. Waller, Gilbert Millington, G. Fleetwood, J. Alured, R. Lilbourne, W. Say, Ant. Stapely, R. Deane, R. Ticbbourne, Humph. Edwards, Dan. Blaggrave, Owen Roe, W. Purefoy, Adrian Scroope, James Temple, Aug. Garland, Edm. Ludlow, H. Marten, Vin. Potter, W. Constable, R. Ingoldsby, W. Cawley, J. Berkstead, Isaac Ewers, J. Dixwell, Val. Wanton, Greg. Norton, J. Challoner, T. Wogan, J. Venn, Greg. Clement, J. Downes, T. Waite, T. Scott, J. Carew, Miles Corbet.

It

It was Ordered, That the Officers of the Ordnance within the Tower of London, or any other Officer or Officers of the Store within the said Tower, in whose Hands or Custody the bright Execution-Axe for the Executing Malefactors, is, do forthwith deliver unto Edward Dendy, Esq; Serjeant at Arms, attending this Court, or his Deputy or Deputies, the said Axe; and for their or either of their so doing, this shall be their Warrant.

Directed to Col. John White, or any other Officer within the Tower of London, whom it concerneth.

The King's Deportment and Speech on the Scaffold.

Tuesday, the 30th of January, the fatal Day being come, the Commissioners met in the Painted Chamber, and ordered four or five of their Ministers to attend upon the King at St. James's, where they then kept him; but his Majesty well knowing what miserable Comforters they were like to prove, refused to have Conference with them.

That Morning the King having slept soundly for about four Hours, awaked near two Hours before Day; and calling to Mr. Herbert, who lay by his Bed-side, bid him rise; For (says the King) I will get up, having a great Work to do this Day. Herbert, this is my second Marriage-Day, I will be as trim to Day as may be; for before Night, I hope to be espous'd to my blessed Jesus. He then appointed what Cloaths he would wear, And (says he) let me have a Shirt on more than ordinary, by reason the Season is so sharp, as probably may make me shake, which some Observers will imagine proceeds from Fear; I would have no such Imputation; I fear not Death;

Death ; Death is not terrible to me ; I bless my God, I am prepar'd. Soon after the King was dressed, came Dr. *Juxon*, Bishop of *London*, precisely at the Time his Majesty had before appointed ; and being first an Hour in Private with him, calling Mr. *Herbert*, he prayed in the Prayers of the Church, reading in the 27th Chapter of St. *Matthew*, which relates the Passion of our Saviour. After Service, the King thanked the Bishop for making Choice of that Chapter, being so applicable to his present Condition : The Bishop replied, *May it please your Gracious Majesty, it is the proper Lesson for the Day, as appears by the Calendar ; at which he was much affected ; and thought it a providential Preparation for his Death.*

About Ten o'Clock, Col. *Hacker* knock'd easily at the King's Chamber-Door ; and knocking louder a second Time, the King commanded Mr. *Herbert* to go to the Door, who demanded why he knocked ; *Hacker* said he would speak with the King ; the King said, *Let him come in.* He came in trembling, and told his Majesty, it was Time to go to *Whitehall*, where he might have farther Time to rest. *Well*, says the King, *Go forth, I will come presently.* Soon after the King took the Bishop by the Hand, and said, *Come, let us go ;* and spoke thus to Mr. *Herbert*, *Open the Door, Hacker has given us a second Warning.* The King passed through the Garden into the Park, where several Companies of Foot were drawn up, and made a Guard on each Side, the Bishop waiting on the King's Right-Hand, and Col. *Tomlinson* on his Left, both bare-headed. The King walked very fast, and calling on them to walk faster, said, *He now went before them, to strive for a Heavenly Crown, with less Solitude, than he had often encouraged his Soldiers to fight for an Earthly Diadem.* At the End of the Park,

Park, the King went up the Stairs leading to the Long Gallery, and so into the *Cabinet Chamber*, where after several Prayers and pious Discourses, about Twelve he eat a Bit of Bread, and drank a Glas of Claret: Soon after, Col. *Hacker* came to the Chamber-Door, and gave his last Signal; the Bishop and Mr. *Herbert*, weeping, fell upon their Knees, and the King gave them his Hand to kifs, and helped up the aged Bishop, and said, *Open the Door*; and bidding *Hacker* go on, said, *I will follow*. So he was conducted through the *Banqueting-House* to the Scaffold, by a Passage made through a Window; many Companies of Foot and Troops of Horse were placed to keep off the Spectators, whereby his Majesty was disappointed of speaking to the People; and therefore directing himself chiefly to Col. *Tomlinson*, he said,

‘ I Shall be very little heard of any Body, I shall therefore speak a Word unto you here.

‘ Indeed I could hold my Peace very well, if
 ‘ I did not think that holding my Peace would
 ‘ make some Men think that I did submit to the
 ‘ Guilt, as well as to the Punishment; but I
 ‘ think it is my Duty to God first, and to my
 ‘ Country, for to clear myself both as an honest
 ‘ Man, a good King, and a good Christian.

‘ *I shall begin first with my Innocence.*

‘ In troth, I think it not very needful for me
 ‘ to insist long upon this, for all the World knows
 ‘ that I never did begin a War with the *Two*
 ‘ *Houses of Parliament*; and I call God to wit-
 ‘ ness, to whom I must shortly make an Account,
 ‘ That I never did intend for to incroach upon
 ‘ their Privileges; they began upon me, it was
 E the

• the *Militia* they began upon; they confess'd that
 • the *Militia* was mine, but they thought it fit for
 • to have it from me: And, to be short, if any
 • Body will look to the Dates of Commissions,
 • of their Commissions and mine, and likewise to
 • the Declarations, will see clearly that they be-
 • gan these unhappy Troubles, not I: So that
 • the Guilt of these enormous Crimes that are
 • laid against me, I hope in God, that God will
 • clear me of it; I will not (I am in Charity)
 • God forbid that I should lay it upon the *Two*
 • *Houses of Parliament*, there is no Necessity of
 • either, I hope they are free of this Guilt: For
 • I do believe that ill Instruments between them
 • and me, have been the chief Cause of all this
 • Bloodshed: So that, by way of speaking, as I
 • find myself clear of this, I hope (and pray
 • God) that they may too: Yet for all this, God
 • forbid that I should be so ill a Christian, as not
 • to say that God's Judgments are just upon me:
 • Many times he does pay Justice by unjust Sen-
 • tence, that is ordinary. I will only say this,
 • That an unjust Sentence, * that I suf-
 • * *Strafford*. fered to take Effect, is punished now
 • by an unjust Sentence upon me. That
 • is, so far I have said, to shew you that I am an
 • innocent Man.

• Now for to shew you that I am a good Christian.

• I hope there is † a good Man
 † *Pointing to* • that will bear me witness, That
Dr. Juxon. • I have forgiven all the World,
 • and even those in particular, that
 • have been the chief Causers of my Death;
 • who they are, God knows, I do not desire to
 • know, I pray God forgive them. But this is
 • not all, my Charity must go further, I wish
 • that

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‘ that they may repent, for indeed they have
‘ committed a great Sin in that Particular. I
‘ pray God, with St. *Stephen*, that *this be not laid*
‘ *to their Charge*; nay, not only so, but that they
‘ may take the right Way to the Peace of the
‘ Kingdom; for my Charity commands me, not
‘ only to forgive particular Men, but my Charity
‘ commands me to endeavour to the last Gasps
‘ the Peace of the Kingdom. So (Sirs) I do
‘ wish with all my Soul (and I hope there is some
‘ here will carry it further) that they may endeavour
‘ the Peace of the Kingdom.

‘ Now (Sirs) I must shew you both how you are
‘ out of the Way, and will put you in the Way.

‘ *First*, You are out of the Way; for certainly
‘ all the Way you ever have had yet, as I could
‘ find by any Thing, is in the Way of Conquest;
‘ certainly this is an ill way: For Conquest (Sir)
‘ in my Opinion, is never just, except there be a
‘ good just Cause, either for Matter of Wrong,
‘ or just Title; and then if you go beyond it,
‘ the first Quarrel that you have to it, is that
‘ makes it unjust at the End, that was just at
‘ first: But if it be only Matter of Conquest,
‘ then it is a great Robbery, as a Pirate said to
‘ *Alexander*, that he was the great Robber, and
‘ he was but a petty Robber: And so, Sir, I do
‘ think the Way that you are in, is much out of
‘ the Way.

‘ Now, Sir, for to put you in the Way, believe
‘ it, you will never do right, nor God will
‘ ever prosper you, until you give God his Due,
‘ the King his Due (that is, *my Successors*) and the
‘ People their Due. I am as much for *them* as
‘ any of you.

‘ You must give God his Due, by regulating
‘ rightly his Church (according to his Scriptures)
‘ which is now out of Order. For to set you in

‘ a Way particularly now I cannot, but only this,
 ‘ *A National Synod freely called*, freely debating
 ‘ among themselves, must settle this, when that
 ‘ every Opinion is freely and clearly heard.

‘ For the *King*, indeed I will not.—(*Then turning to a Gentleman that touched the Ax*, he said,
 ‘ *Hurt not the Ax that may hurt me.*)

‘ For the *King*, the Laws of the Land will
 ‘ clearly instruct you for that; therefore, because
 ‘ it concerns my own Particular, I only give you
 ‘ a Touch of it.

‘ For the *People*: And truly I desire their Liberty and Freedom as much as any Body who-
 ‘ soever; but I must tell you, That their Liberty and Freedom consists in having of Government, those Laws by which their Lives and
 ‘ their Goods may be most their own. It is not
 ‘ for having Share in Government (*Sir*) that is
 ‘ nothing pertaining to them: A Subject and a
 ‘ Sovereign, are clean different Things; and
 ‘ therefore until they do that, I mean, that you
 ‘ do put the People in that Liberty, as I say,
 ‘ certainly they will never enjoy themselves.

‘ *Sirs*, It was for this that now I am come
 ‘ here: If I would have given way to an Arbitrary Way, for to have all Laws changed according to the Power of the Sword, I needed
 ‘ not to have come here; and therefore I tell
 ‘ you (and I pray God it be not laid to your
 ‘ Charge) That *I am the MARTYR* of the
 ‘ People.

‘ In troth, *Sirs*, I shall not hold you much
 ‘ longer, for I will only say this to you, that in
 ‘ Truth I could have desired some little Time
 ‘ longer, because I would have put this that I
 ‘ have said, in a little more Order, and a little
 ‘ better digested, than I have done; and therefore
 ‘ I hope you will excuse me.

King CHARLES the First. 53

‘ I have delivered my Conscience, I pray God
‘ that you do take those Courses that are best for
‘ the Good of the Kingdom, and your own Sal-
‘ vation. ’

Then the Bishop thus address’d himself to
the King.

*Tho’ it be very well known what your Majesty’s
Affections are to the Protestant Religion, yet it may
be expected, that you should say somewhat for the
World’s Satisfaction in that Particular.*

King. I thank you heartily, my Lord, I had
almost forgotten it. In troth, Sirs, my Consci-
ence in Religion, I think, is very well known to
all the World ; and therefore I do declare before
you all, that I die a Christian, according to the
Profession of the Church of Eng-
land, as I found it left me by my * *Pointing to*
Father ; and this * honest Man, I *Dr. Juxon.*
think, will witness it.

Then turning to the Officers, said,

*Sirs, Excuse me for this ; I have a good Cause,
and I have a gracious God ; I will say no more.*

Then turning to Colonel Hacker, he said,

*Take care they do not put me to Pain ; and, Sir,
This, and it please you : But then a Gentleman
coming near the Ax, the King said, Take heed of
the Ax ; pray take heed of the Ax. Then the King,
speaking to the Executioner, said, I shall say but
short Prayers ; and when I thrust out my Hands —*

Then the King called to Dr. Juxon for his
Night-cap, and put it on : he said to the Execu-

tioner, *Does my Hair trouble you ?* who desired him to put it all under his Cap ; which the King did accordingly, by the Help of the Executioner and the Bishop. Then the King, turning to Dr. *Juxon*, said, *I have a good Cause, and a gracious God on my Side.*

Dr. *Juxon*. There is but one Stage more, this Stage is turbulent and troublesome, it is a short one ; but you may consider, it will soon carry you a very great Way : It will carry you from Earth to Heaven, and there you shall find a great deal of cordial Joy and Comfort.

King. I go from a corruptible to an incorruptible Crown, where no Disturbance can be, no Disturbance in the World.

Dr. *Juxon*. You are exchanged from a temporal to an eternal Crown ; a good Exchange.

The King then said to the Executioner, *Is my Hair well ?*

Then the King took off his Cloak and his George, giving his George to Dr. *Juxon*, saying, *Remember.*

Then the King put off his Doublet, and, being in his Waistcoat, put his Cloak on again ; then looking upon the Block, said to the Executioner, *You must set it fast.*

Executioner. It is fast, Sir.

King. When I put my Hands out this way, [stretching them out] then —

After that, having said two or three Words, as he stood, to himself, with Hands and Eyes lift up, immediately stooping down, laid his Neck upon the Block : And then the Executioner again putting his Hair under his Cap, the King said, (thinking he had been going to strike) *Stay for the Sign.*

Executioner. Yes, I will, and it please your Majesty.

So,

King CHARLES the First. 55

So, after a short Pause, his Majesty stretching forth his Hands, the Executioner (who was all the while in a Mask) at one Blow severed his Head from his Body : which being held up, and shewed to the astonished People, was, with his Body, put into a Coffin covered with black Velvet, and carried into his Lodging-Chamber in *White-Hall*.

It must be dreadfully remember'd, that the then cruel Powers did suspect that the King would not submit his Head to the Block ; and therefore, to bring him down by Violence to it, they had prepared Hooks (made by a Smith in *Aldgate*) to hawl him as a Victim to the Slaughter. But, by the Example of his Saviour, he resisted not ; he disappointed their Wit, and yielded to their Malice.

Application was made to the Men in Power, for Leave to bury the Royal Corps in King *Henry the Seventh's* Chapel ; but the Request was denied, upon this Reason, that it might attract great Numbers of People to that Place, which might be inconvenient and unsafe : And therefore, upon a second Address to the Committee of Parliament, an Order was dated *Febr. 6.* to authorize Mr. *Herbert* and Mr. *Mildmay* to bury the King's Body in the Royal Chapel of *St. George*, within the Castle of *Windfor*. Hence the Body, being embalmed, and laid in a Coffin of Lead, to be seen for some Days by the People, was on *Febr. 7.* carried from *St. James's* in a Hearse covered with black Velvet, and drawn by six Horses, with four Coaches following, and so brought to *Windfor-Castle*, where the Order for Interment was shewn to the Governor Col. *Whicbcott*. Next Day came the Duke of *Richmond*, the Marquis of *Hertford*, the Earls of *Southampton* and *Lindsey*, and the Bishop of *London*, with two Votes that Morning, whereby the

ordering of the King's Burial was committed to the Duke, provided the Expences thereof exceeded not five hundred Pounds. These Lords agreed, that the King's Body should be interred in a Vault about the middle of the Choir, over-against the eleventh Stall upon the Sovereign's Side, in which Vault were laid the Bodies of King *Henry the Eighth*, and Queen *Jane Seymour*. This Vault being opened, the King's Body was brought from his Bed-chamber into *St. George's-hall*, and thence with a slow and solemn Pace carried by Gentlemen, the Lords following, and set down in the Choir near the Place of Burial, where the Bishop of *London* stood ready with the Service-book in his Hands, to have perform'd that last Duty by the Publick Form of Burial ; but the rude Colonel would not suffer it to be done : And though the Lords earnestly desir'd it, and insisted on the Parliament's Leave for it, yet he still denied, and said, It was improbable the Parliament would permit the Use of what they had so solemnly abolished, and therein destroy their own Act. So the Body was silently deposited, with this Circumscription in Capital Letters upon Lead,

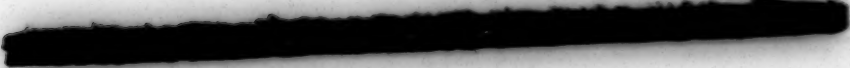
K I N G C H A R L E S.

1 6 4 8.

It has been a Question and a Wonder by many, why a particular Monument was not erected for him after the Restauration of his Son, especially when the Parliament was well-inclined to have given a good Sum for that grateful Purpose. This has caused several Conjectures and Reflexions ; and Intimations have been given, as if the Royal Body had never been deposited there, or else had been afterwards remov'd by the Regicides : And the

King CHARLES the First. 57

the Lord *Clarendon* himself speaks softly and suspiciously of this Matter, as if he believ'd that the Body could not be found. But to remove all Imaginations, I shall here insert a *Memorandum*, or Certificate, sent by Mr. *John Sewel*, a Register at *Windsor-Castle*; 'Anno 1696, Sept. 21. the same Vault, in which King *Charles* the First was buried, was opened, to lay in a Still-born Child of the then Princess of *Denmark*, our late gracious Queen.' On the King's Coffin the Velvet-Pall was strong and sound, and there was about the Coffin a Leaden Band, with this Inscription cut through it, 'KING CHARLES, 1648.' As a farther *Memorandum* relating to King *Charles's* Interment, he says, 'That when the Body of King *Charles* the First lay in State in the Dean's Hall, the Duke of *Richmond* had the Coffin open'd, and was satisfy'd that it was the King's Body. This several People have declar'd they knew to be true, who were alive, and then present, as Mr. *Randolph* of *New Windsor*, and others.' So that he thinks the Lord *Clarendon* was misled in that Matter, and that King *Charles* the Second never sent to enquire after the Body; 'Since it was well known both to the Inhabitants of the Castle and Town, that it was in that Vault.'



T H E
Loyal MARTYROLOGY:

O R, A N

ACCOUNT of the SUFFERINGS of the
Nobility, Gentry, and Others,

Who were Inhumanly Sacrific'd for their
Loyalty to their SOVEREIGNS,

King CHARLES the First and Second.

Rank'd according to Order of Time, from the
Year 1641, to 1658.

Together with their several Dying Speeches and
Departments at the Places of Execution.

*The Demeanor of the Earl of Strafford, during,
(and after) his Tryal; together with his Dying
Speech on the Scaffold on Tower-Hill, where he
was Beheaded, May the 12th, 1641.*

DURING his Tryal, which had lasted the Space of eighteen Days, the Earl behav'd himself with great Shew of Humility and Submission, and, in truth, made his Defence with all imaginable Dexterity, answering this Charge, and evading that, with all possible Skill and Eloquence. 'Tis very notorious, the prosecuting Party were so conscious of the Earl's Innocence, that they were forced to change their
Impeach-

Impeachment into a Bill of Attainder ; which having pass'd the Commons, was carry'd up to the Lords, who agreed to hear the Matter of Law pleaded by the Council of Commons ; among whom Mr. Solicitor *St. John* offer'd the two following insufferable Arguments : 1. *That though the Testimony was not so clear, yet, in this way of Bill, private Satisfaction to each Man's Conscience was sufficient, although no Evidence had been given in at all.* 2. *That the Earl had no Title to plead Law, because he had broke the Law. It's true (says he) we give Law to Hares and Deers, because they be Beasts of Chace ; but it was never accounted either Cruelty or foul Play to knock Foxes and Wolves on the Head as they can be found, because these be Beasts of Prey.*

While the Bill was depending in the House, the King came, and sending for the Commons, made a Speech in the Earl's Behalf, which did but the more inflame his sworn Enemies, who pretended to discover Plots for his Escape, and enter into a Protestation taken by the Speaker, and most of the Members ; and encourage Petitions and Clamours for *Justice* ; and a black List of the *Straffordians* to be posted up, and cry'd about the Streets ; till many of the Lords, for Fear of Violence, absented from their own Houses ; and the Bishops declin'd Voting in the Act, as well as Appearing in the Tryal ; ' Tho' it was ' not believ'd, says my Lord *Clarendon*, now ' the former Tryal, and Way of Judicature was ' wav'd, the Bishops wou'd so stupidly (to say ' no worse) exclude themselves from Voting in a ' Law which was to be an Act of Parliament. ' So that in an Afternoon, when of the Fourscore, who had been present at the Tryal, there were only Six and Forty Lords in the House, (the People crying at the Doors for *Justice*) the Bill pass'd with the Dissent only of Eleven Peers.

The

The King was fully resolv'd not to give his Consent, and accordingly advis'd with his Privy Council, who most of 'em press'd him to pass the Bill upon this Argument, *That he ought to be more tender of the Safety of the Kingdom, than of any one Person, how innocent soever.* The Bishops in general resolv'd him, *That he ought not to go against his own Conscience for any Conside-*

* *Ld. Clarendon. rations whatsoever.* But (says an

* *Historian*) the Archbishop of York told him, *That there was a private and a publick Conscience; That his publick Conscience, as a King, might not only dispense with, but oblige him to do that which was against his private Conscience, as a Man.—* And by such imprelatical, ignominious Arguments, in plain Terms advis'd him, even for Conscience-sake, to pass the Act.

While the King was under infinite Perplexities in his own Mind, and under the most imminent Danger of Assaults of the Rabble in his own Palace, who were taught the Word, *Justice! Justice!* the Earl wrote a Letter, *May 11.* from the Tower, to his Majesty, to offer up his Life for a Sacrifice to the Publick:—*' With much Sadness,*
' I am come to a Resolution of that which I take
' to be best becoming me, and to look upon it
' as that which is most principal in itself, which
' doubtless is the Prosperity of your sacred Per-
' son, and the Commonwealth, Things infinitely
' before any private Man's Interest. And there-
' fore in few Words, as I put myself wholly up-
' on the Honour and Justice of my Peers, so
' clearly as to wish your Majesty had spared that
' Declaration of your's on Saturday last, and en-
' tirely to have left me to their Lordships; so
' now, to set your Majesty's Conscience at Li-
' berty, I do most humbly beseech your Majesty,
' for Prevention of Evils which may happen by
' your

‘ your Refusal, ‘to pass this Bill; and by this
‘ Means to remove, (praised be God) I cannot
‘ say, this accursed, but (I confess) this unfortu-
‘ nate Thing forth of the Way, towards that
‘ blessed Agreement, which God (I hope) shall
‘ ever establish between you and your Subjects.
‘ Sir, my Consent shall more acquit you herein
‘ to God, than all the World can do besides :
‘ To a willing Man there is no Injury done, and
‘ as by God’s Grace I forgive all the World, with
‘ a Calmness and Meekness of infinite Content-
‘ ment to my dislodging Soul; so, Sir, to you I
‘ can give the Life of this World with all the
‘ Chearfulness imaginable, in the just Acknow-
‘ ledgment of your exceeding Favours, and on-
‘ ly beg, that in your Goodness you would
‘ vouchsafe to cast your gracious Regard upon
‘ my poor Son, and his three Sisters, less or
‘ more, and no otherwise than as their (in Prison)
‘ unfortunate Father may hereafter appear more
‘ or less Guilty of this Death. ’

On *Friday, May 7.* the Lords pass’d the Bill of Attainder, and on the *Sunday, May the 9th,* the King, with the utmost Reluctancy, commission’d the Lord *Arundel*, the Lord Privy Seal, and two other Peers, to pass it, together with the more fatal Bill for the Continuance of the present Parliament; which was accordingly done, *May 10.* The next Day, the King betray’d the Affliction of his Conscience, by writing a Letter to the Lords, and sending it by the Prince:

My Lords,
I Did Yesterday satisfy the Justice of the Kingdom, by passing the Bill of Attainder against the Earl of Strafford; but Mercy being as inherent and inseparable to a King, as Justice, I desire at this Time, in
some

some measure, to shew That likewise, by suffering that unfortunate Man to fulfil the natural Course of his Life in a close Imprisonment: Yet so, if ever he make the least Offer to escape; or offer directly or indirectly to meddle in any Part of publick Business, especially with me, either by Message or Letter, it shall cost him his Life without farther Procefs. This, if it may be done without the Discontentment of my People, will be an unspeakable Contentment to me. To which End, as, in the first Place, I by this Letter do earnestly desire your Approbation, and, to indear it more, have chosen him to carry it, that of all your House is most dear to me; so I desire, that by a Conference you will endeavour to give the House of Commons Contentment, assuring you, that the Exercise of Mercy is not more pleasing to me, than to see both Houses of Parliament consent, for my Sake, that I should moderate the Severity of the Law in so important a Case.

I will not say, that your complying with me in this my intended Mercy shall make me more willing, but certainly 'twill make me more chearful in granting your just Grievances; for if no less than his Life can satisfy my People, I must say, Fiat Justitia. Thus again commending the Consideration of my Intentions to you, I rest,

Your unalterable and affectionate Friend,

P. S. If he must dye, 'twere Charity to reprieve him till Saturday.

CHARLES R.

On *Wednesday, May 12.* the Earl was brought to the Scaffold on *Tower-hill*; as he passed near the Lodgings of the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, (whom he had desired by a Message to be at the Window, and to bless him as he went to Execution) he look'd up, and bowing, said, *My Lord,*
your

your Prayers, and your Blessing. The Archbishop lifted up his Hands for the Sign of bestowing both, but was so overcome with Grief, that he fell back in a Swoon; the Earl bowed again, and said, *Farewel, my Lord, God protect your Innocency.* Many of the Spectators observed, that he walked more like a General at the Head of an Army, than a condemn'd Man. The Lieutenant desired him to take Coach, for fear the People should rush in upon him, and tear him in Pieces: *No,* said he, *Master Lieutenant, I dare look Death in the Face, and I hope the People too; if that may give them better Content, it is all one to me.* Upon the Scaffold, attended by the Archbishop of *Armagh*, the Earl of *Cleveland*, his Brother Sir *George Wentworth*, and his own Chaplain, he deliver'd his Speech with a very compos'd and courageous Air, as follows:

*The Earl of Strafford's Speech upon the Scaffold,
May 12, 1641.*

M*Y Lord Primate of Ireland, and my Lords, and the rest of these noble Gentlemen, It is a great Comfort to me to have your Lordships by me this Day, because I have been known to you a long Time, and I now desire to be heard a few Words.*

I come here, my Lords, to pay my last Debt to Sin, which is Death; and through the Mercies of God, to rise again to Eternal Glory.

*My Lords, If I may use a few Words, I shall take it as a great Courtesy from you; I come here to submit to the Judgment that is passed against me; I do it with a very quiet and contented Mind; I do freely forgive all the World; a Forgiveness not from the Teeth outward (as they say) but from my Heart; I speak in the Presence of Almighty God, before whom I stand, that there is not a displeasing Thought that
ariseeth*

64 *The Earl of Strafford's Speech.*

arise in me against any Man: I thank God I say truly, my Conscience bears me Witness, that in all the Honour I had to serve His Majesty, I had not any Intention in my Heart, but what did aim at the joint and individual Prosperity of the King and His People, although it be my ill Hap to be misconstrued; I am not the first Man that hath suffered in this Kind: It is a common Portion that befalls Men in this Life, righteous Judgment shall be hereafter; here we are subject to Error, and Mis-judging one another.

One Thing I desire to be heard in, and do hope, that for Christian Charity's Sake I shall be believed; I was so far from being against Parliaments, that I did always think Parliaments in England to be the happy Constitution of the Kingdom and Nation, and the best Means, under God, to make the King and his People happy: As for my Death, I do here acquit all the World, and beseech God to forgive them; In particular, I am very glad His Majesty conceives me not meriting so severe and heavy a Punishment, as the utmost Execution of this Sentence; I do infinitely rejoice in it, and in that Mercy of His, and do beseech God to return Him the same, that he may find Mercy when he hath most Need of it. I wish this Kingdom all Prosperity and Happiness in the World: I did it Living, and now, Dying, it is my Wish.

I profess heartily my Apprehension, and do humbly recommend it to you, and wish that every Man would lay his Hand on his Heart, and consider seriously, Whether the Beginning of the People's Happiness should be written in Letters of Blood? I fear they are in a wrong Way; I desire Almighty God, that no one Drop of my Blood rise up in Judgment against them; I have but one Word more, and that is for my Religion.

My Lord of Armagh, I do profess myself seriously, faithfully, and truly, to be an obedient Son of the Church of England: In that Church I was born
and

The Earl of Strafford's Speech. 65

and bred, in that Religion I have lived, and now in that I die, Prosperity and Happiness be ever to it.

It hath been said I was inclined to Popery; if it be an Objection worth the answering, let me say truly from my Heart, That since I was Twenty-one Years of Age unto this Day, going on forty-nine Years, I never had Thought or Doubt of the Truth of this Religion, nor had ever any the Boldness to suggest to me the contrary, to my best Remembrance.

And so being reconciled to the Mercies of Jesus Christ my Saviour, into whose Bosom I hope shortly to be gathered, to enjoy Eternal Happiness, which shall never have an End; I desire heartily to be forgiven of every Man, if any rash or unadvised Words or Deeds have passed from me; and desire all your Prayers; and so, my Lord, Farewel; and farewel all Things in this World.

The Lord strengthen my Faith, and give me Confidence and Assurance in the Merits of Christ Jesus; I trust in God, we shall all meet to live eternally in Heaven, and receive the Accomplishments of all Happiness, where every Tear shall be wiped from our Eyes, and sad Thoughts from our Hearts; and so God bless this Kingdom, and Jesus have Mercy on my Soul.

After this Speech he prayed out of the Common-Prayer-Book, laid by his Chaplain before him; and then used some Private Devotions, concluding with the Lord's-Prayer; then taking his Leave of his Brother, he said, ' Brother, we
' must part; Remember me to my Sister and to
' my Wife; and carry my Blessing to my eldest
' Son, and charge him from me that he fear
' God, and continue an obedient Son of the
' Church of England, and that he approve him-
' self a faithful Subject of the King; and tell
' him, that he should not have any private
' Grudge or Revenge towards any concerning
F me;

‘ me ; and bid him beware to meddle with
 ‘ Church-Livings, for that will prove a Moth
 ‘ and Canker to him in his Estate ; and wish him
 ‘ to content himself to be a Servant to his Coun-
 ‘ try, as a Justice of the Peace in his County,
 ‘ not aiming at higher Preferments ; Carry my
 ‘ Blessing also to my Daughters *Anne* and *Arabella*,
 ‘ charge them to fear and serve God, and he will
 ‘ bless them, not forgetting my little Infant, that
 ‘ knows neither Good nor Evil, and cannot
 ‘ speak for itself ; God speak for it, and bless it.
 ‘ *Then he said*, I have nigh done, one Stroke will
 ‘ make my Wife Husbandless, my dear Children
 ‘ Fatherless, and my poor Servants Masterless,
 ‘ and separate me from my dear Brother, and all
 ‘ my Friends ; but let God be to you and them
 ‘ All in all. ’

The Executioner struck off his Head at one
 Blow : And so fell this noble Earl, who, if his
 Master could have saved him, might have been
 able to save his Master : This was indeed the
 Blow that by Degrees reach’d up to the King’s
 own Head. Take his Character thus given by
 my Lord *Clarendon* : ‘ Thus fell the greatest Sub-
 ‘ ject in Power, and little inferior to any in For-
 ‘ tune, that was at that Time in any of the Three
 ‘ Kingdoms ; who could well remember the Time
 ‘ when he led those People that then pursued him
 ‘ to his Grave. He was a Man of great Parts,
 ‘ and extraordinary Endowments of Nature ; not
 ‘ unadorn’d with some Addition of Art and
 ‘ Learning. ’

Some Account of Alderman Yeomans, and Mr. George Bouchier, with the Occasion of their suffering Death at Bristol, May 30, 1643.

ALderman Yeomans had been High Sheriff of *Bristol* in 1642, being but the Year before his execrable Murder. Mr. *George Bouchier* was an able, pious, loyal Gentleman, whom his very Enemies confessed to be a religious Man. These two loyal Persons, seeing the miserable Condition of those Places where the Rebels rul'd, enter'd into a Consultation, with some others, how to deliver the City of *Bristol* into Prince *Rupert's* Hands; and thereupon it was resolv'd, that upon *Monday March* the 7th, 1642, Prince *Rupert* with some Forces should draw down towards the City, whilst they within should seize the Court of Guards, and open the Gates, and by ringing *St. John's* and *St. Michael's* Bells, give him Notice thereof: Accordingly, Prince *Rupert* came by Five of the Clock the next Morning, expecting the Signal; but the Confederacy being discover'd, those two Gentlemen, with some others, were apprehended; and after Eleven Weeks hard Imprisonment, brought to a Tryal at a Council of War, where they were condemn'd to die, by *Nat. Fiennes*, Son to the Lord *Say*, and then Governor of that City for the Parliament; and soon after, notwithstanding the King and his General's Mandates, and Threats of Retaliation, having with great Patience endur'd the Scorns and barbarous Insults of the Enemy, who continually pursued them with Threats and Revilings; they were on *March* the 30th, 1643, barbarously

F 2

murder'd;

murder'd; Alderman *Yeomans* professing at his Death, *That if he had more Lives, he would sacrifice them all to his Sovereign that Way.* And Mr. *Bouchier*, in his last Speech, exhorted all those who had set their Hands to the Plough (meaning the King's Cause) not to be terrify'd by their Sufferings, and therefore to withdraw.

They were honourably attended to their Graves, (having left their Wives big with Child, and many Children behind them, to the merciless Rapine of the Enemy, an Object of their Charity rather than Cruelty) the one to *Christ-Church*, and the other to *St. Warburgh's*, in the same City.

The Execution of Mr. Tomkins, and Mr. Chaloner, in London, July the 5th, 1643.

MR. *Tomkins* was an accomplish'd Person by Education, being Fellow of *Magdalen College* in *Oxford*, where he was Tutor to the Right Honourable the Earl of *Bristol*, having attended the old Earl into *Spain*, and other Parts, who recommended him to be Clerk of the Queen's Council, as the ablest Man in *England*, for various Languages, a polite Pen, and a solid and reaching Head-piece. He was of good Fame for Honesty and Ability, having great Interest and Reputation in the City, and conversing much with those who dislik'd the Proceedings of the Parliament, and wish'd to live under the same Government they were born; which gave him an Opportunity of informing himself of the Temper of the People, upon Accidents, in the publick Affairs.

Mr.

Mr. Tomkins, and Chaloner. 69

Mr. *Chaloner* was a Citizen of good Repute and Credit in *Cornhill*, and by Trade a Linendraper, and a most intimate Companion of Mr. *Tomkins*.

The Crime laid to their Charge, was, a Suspicion of their being privy to a Plot, the Design of which was pretended, ‘ That they should seize
‘ into their Custody the King’s Children, some
‘ Members of Parliament, the Lord Mayor, and
‘ Committee of the Militia, all the City Out-
‘ works and Forts, the *Tower of London*, and all
‘ the Magazines; then to let in the King’s Ar-
‘ my, to surprize the City, and to destroy all
‘ Opposers; and this grounded upon Refusal of
‘ paying of Taxes impos’d without Authority.’

The *House of Commons*, in Return to God for the wonderful Discovery of this Plot, kept a Publick Thanksgiving, and took a solemn Vow and Covenant, which was likewise follow’d by the City and the Army: They then proceeded to try the two aforesaid Sufferers, with several other Citizens, by a Council of War, by whom Mr. *Tomkins* and Mr. *Chaloner* were condemn’d to be hang’d; and were both, with all Circumstances of Severity and Cruelty, executed; Mr. *Tomkins* on a Gibbet by his own House in *Holbourn*, where he had lived with singular Estimation, and near *Gray’s-Inn*, whereof he was a Member; Mr. *Chaloner* by his House in *Cornhill*, near the *Old Exchange*, where he had been an eminent Citizen. They were very resolved, and, in their Dying Speeches, clear’d themselves from some Mistakes and Aspersions, but repented of being engaged so far in a foolish Business, as Mr. *Tomkins* there call’d it.

The Circumstances of this Plot being somewhat remarkable, it may not be improper to subjoin my Lord *Clarendon*’s Opinion concerning it; ‘ That
‘ there was ever any form’d Design, either of the

70 *Sufferings of Mr. Kniveton, &c.*

' lett'ng in the King's Army into *London*, which
 ' was impossible to be contriv'd, or of raising an
 ' Army there, and suppressing the Parliament,
 ' or any one Person of it, or of using any Vio-
 ' lence in or upon the City, (*says that noble Au-*
 ' *thor*) I could never yet see Cause to believe;
 ' and if there had, they would have published
 ' such a Relation of it, after Mr. *Waller* had con-
 ' fess'd to them all he knew, had heard, or fan-
 ' sied to himself, as might have constituted some
 ' reasonable Understanding of it; and not have
 ' contented themselves with making Conclusions
 ' from Questions that had been ask'd, and An-
 ' swers made by Persons unknown; and forcing
 ' Expressions used by one, to relate to Actions of
 ' another, between whom there had been never
 ' the least Acquaintance or Correspondence, and
 ' joining what was said at *London*, to somewhat
 ' done at *Oxford*, at another Time, and to an-
 ' other Purpose.'

An Account of the Sufferings of Mr. Daniel Knive-
ton, and his Behaviour at the Place of Execution
in London, Nov. 27th, 1643.

THE Occasion of this Man's being put to
 Death may serve as an Instance to what a
 Height of Boldness and Severity the Enemies
 of the King had then arriv'd and shews they
 would not admit of any Partner in the Sovereign
 Power. The King had published several Procla-
 mations for the Adjournment of the Term from
London to *Oxford*, which hitherto had been in vain;
 and therefore he sent two special Messengers, who
 delivered Writs of Adjournment to two of the
 Judges,

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Judges, Reeve and Trevor, who immediately caused them to be apprehended : Upon which the Houses gave Direction, That they should be tried as Spies, by a Council of War ; which was done at *Essex House*. The Messengers alledg'd, ' They were ' sworn Servants to the King, for the Performance ' of that Business of which they were accused ; ' and for the Refusal of which they had been ' legally punishable, the Term being to be adjourn'd no other way.' Notwithstanding which, they were both condemn'd to be hang'd as Spies : And that such a Sentence might not be thought to be only in *Terrorem*, the two poor Men were, within a few Days after, carried to the *Old Exchange*, where a Gallows was purposely set up ; and there one of them, viz. *Daniel Kniveton* (who had formerly been a Haberdasher in *Fleetstreet*) was without Mercy executed ; dying with another kind of Courage than could be expected from a Man of such Condition and Education, did not the Conscience of being innocent beget a marvellous Satisfaction in any State. The other, named *Carpenter*, after he had stood some time upon or under the Gallows, looking for the same Conclusion, was repriev'd, and sent to *Bridewell*, where he was kept long after, 'till he made his Escape, and return'd to *Oxford*.

A perfect Relation of the Suffering and Execution of the Most Reverend Father in God, WILLIAM Lord Archbishop of Canterbury : With his Last Dying Speech and Deportment on the Scaffold, Jan. 10. 1644.

THE Time between the Sentence and the Execution he spent in Prayers and Applications

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tions to the Lord his God ; having obtained, though not without some Difficulty, a Chaplain of his own to attend upon him, and to assist him in the Work of his Preparation : Though little Preparation needed to receive that Blow, which could not but be welcome, because long expected : for so well was he studied in the Art of Dying, (especially in the last and strictest Part of his Imprisonment) that, by continual Fasting, Watching, Prayers, and such-like Acts of Christian Humiliation, his Flesh was rarefied into Spirit, and the whole Man so fitted for eternal Glories, that he was more than half in Heaven, before Death brought his bloody (but triumphant) Chariot to convey him thither. *Friday Jan. 10. 1644.* the fatal Morning being come, he first applied himself to his private Prayers, and so continued 'till *Pennington*, and others of their publick Officers, came to conduct him to the Scaffold, which he ascended with so brave a Courage, such a chearful Countenance, as if he had mounted rather to behold a Triumph, than to be made a Sacrifice ; and came not there to die, but to be translated. And, to say Truth, it was no Scaffold, but a Throne, a Throne whereon he shortly was to receive a Crown, even the most glorious Crown of Martyrdom. And though some rude, uncivil People reviled him as he passed along with opprobrious Language, as loth to let him go to the Grave in Peace, it never discomposed his Thoughts, nor disturbed his Patience : for he had profited so well in the School of Christ, that *when he was reviled, he reviled not again ; when he suffered, he threatened not, but committed his Cause to him that judgeth righteously.* And as he did not fear the Frowns, so neither did he covet the Applause of the vulgar Herd ; and therefore rather chose to read what he had to speak unto the People, than to affect the

the Ostentation either of Memory or Wit in that dreadful Agony ; whether with greater Magnanimity or Prudence, I can hardly say. As for the Matter of his Speech, besides what did concern himself and his own Purgation, his great Care was, to clear his Majesty and the Church of England from any Inclination unto Popery ; with a Persuasion of the which, the Authors of the Miseries of those Times had abused the People, and made them take up Arms against their Sovereign. A faithful Servant to the last ! By Means whereof, as it is said of *Samson*, in the Book of *Judges*, that *the men which he slew at his death, were more than they which he slew in his life* ; so it may be affirmed of this famous Prelate, that he gave a greater Blow unto the Enemies of God and the King at the Hour of his Death, than he had given them in his whole Life before. But this you will more clearly see by the Speech itself, which followeth here, according to the best and most perfect Copies, published by one of his Chaplains, and printed at Oxford :

Good People,

‘ **T**His is an uncomfortable time to preach ;
 ‘ yet I shall begin with a Text of Scripture,
 ‘ *Hebr. xii. 2. Let us run with patience that race*
 ‘ *which is set before us, looking unto Jesus the author*
 ‘ *and finisher of our faith ; who for the joy that was*
 ‘ *set before him, endured the cross, despising the shame,*
 ‘ *and is set down at the right hand of the throne of*
 ‘ *God.*

‘ I have been long in my Race ; and how I have
 ‘ looked to *Jesus the Author and Finisher of my Faith*,
 ‘ he best knows : I am now come to the End of
 ‘ my Race ; and here I find the *Cross*, a Death of
 ‘ *Shame* : but the *Shame* must be despised, or no
 ‘ coming to the *Right Hand of God*. *Jesus despised*
 ‘ *the*

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' *the Shame* for me ; and God forbid but I should
 ' *despise the Shame* for him. I am going apace (as
 ' you see) towards the Red Sea, and my Feet
 ' are now upon the very Brink of it ; an Argu-
 ' ment, I hope, that God is bringing me into
 ' *the Land of Promise*, for that was *the Way* through
 ' *which he led his People* : But before they came to
 ' it, he instituted a *Passover* for them ; a *Lamb* it
 ' was, but it must be *eaten with four Herbs*. I
 ' shall obey, and labour to digest the *four Herbs*,
 ' as well as the *Lamb* : And I shall remember it
 ' is *the Lord's Passover* : I shall not think of the
 ' *Herbs*, nor be angry with the Hand which ga-
 ' thereth them ; but look up only to him who in-
 ' stituted that, and governs these ; for Men can
 ' have *no more Power over me, than what is given*
 ' *them from Above*. I am not in love with this
 ' Passage through the Red Sea, for I have the
 ' Weakness and Infirmities of Flesh and Blood
 ' plentifully in me : And I have prayed, with
 ' my Saviour, *Ut transfret calix iste*, that this Cup
 ' of Red Wine *might pass from me* : but if not,
 ' *God's Will (not mine) be done* ; and I shall most
 ' willingly drink of this Cup as deep as he pleases,
 ' and enter into this Sea, yea, and pass through
 ' it, *in the way that he shall lead me*.

' But I would have it remember'd (good Peo-
 ' ple) that when God's Servants were in this
 ' boisterous Sea, and Aaron among them, the
 ' Egyptians which persecuted them (and did, in
 ' a manner, drive them into that Sea) were
 ' drowned in the same Waters, while they were
 ' in Pursuit of them. I know my God whom I
 ' serve is able to deliver me from this Sea of
 ' Blood, as he was to deliver the Three Children
 ' from the Furnace ; and (I most humbly thank
 ' my Saviour for it) my Resolution is now, as
 ' theirs was then : *They would not worship the Image*
 ' *the*

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' the King had set up, nor will I the Imaginations
 ' which the People are setting up ; nor will I
 ' forsake the Temple, and the Truth of God, to fol-
 ' low the Bleating of Jeroboam's Calves in Dan
 ' and in Bethel. And as for this People, they are
 ' at this Day miserably misled, (God, of his
 ' Mercy, open their Eyes, that they may see the
 ' right Way) for at this Day the Blind lead the
 ' Blind ; and if they go on, both will certainly fall
 ' into the Ditch. For myself, I am (and I ac-
 ' knowledge it in all Humility) a most grievous
 ' Sinner many ways, by Thought, Word, and
 ' Deed ; and I cannot doubt, but that God hath
 ' Mercy in Store for me a poor Penitent, as well
 ' as for other Sinners. I have now, upon this
 ' sad Occasion, ransacked every Corner of my
 ' Heart ; and yet, I thank God, I have not found
 ' (among the many) any one Sin which deserves
 ' Death, by any known Law of this Kingdom.
 ' And yet hereby I charge nothing upon my
 ' Judges ; for if they proceed upon Proof, (by va-
 ' luable Witnesses) I, or any other Innocent, may
 ' be justly condemn'd : And I thank God, though
 ' the Weight of the Sentence lies heavy upon me,
 ' I am as quiet within, as ever I was in my Life.
 ' And though I am not only the first Archbishop,
 ' but the first Man that ever died by an Ordinance
 ' of Parliament, yet some of my Predecessors have
 ' gone this Way, though not by this Means : for
 ' Elphégus was hurried away, and lost his Head
 ' by the Danes ; and Simon Sudbury, in the Fury
 ' of Wat Tyler and his Fellows. Before these,
 ' St. John Baptist had his Head danc'd off by a
 ' lewd Woman ; and St. Cyprian, Archbishop of
 ' Carthage, submitted his Head to a persecuting
 ' Sword. Many Examples, (great and good)
 ' and they teach me Patience ; for I hope my
 ' Cause in Heaven will look of another Dye, than
 ' the

' the Colour that is put upon it here. And some
 ' Comfort it is to me, not only that I go the Way
 ' of these great Men in their several Generations,
 ' but also, that my Charge (as foul as it is made)
 ' looks like that of the *Jews* against *St. Paul*,
 ' (*Acts* xxv. 3.) for he was accused for the *Law*
 ' and the *Temple*, i. e. *Religion* : And like that of
 ' *St. Stephen* (*Acts* vi. 14.) for breaking the *Ordi-*
 ' *nances* which *Moses* gave, i. e. *Law* and *Religion*,
 ' *the Holy Place* and *the Temple*, (*ver.* 13.) But
 ' you will say, Do I then compare myself with
 ' the Integrity of *St. Paul* and *St. Stephen* ? No,
 ' far be that from me ; I only raise a Com-
 ' fort to myself, that these great Saints and Ser-
 ' vants of God were laid at in their Times, as I
 ' am now. And 'tis memorable, that *St. Paul*,
 ' who helped on this Accusation against *St. Ste-*
 ' *phen*, did after fall under the very same himself.
 ' Yea, but here's a great Clamour that I would
 ' have brought in Popery ; I shall answer that
 ' more fully by and by : In the mean time, you
 ' know what the Pharisees said against Christ
 ' himself, *If we let him alone, all men will believe*
 ' *in him*, *Et venient Romani*, and the *Romans* will
 ' come, and take away both our place and nation.
 ' Here was a causeless Cry against Christ, that
 ' *the Romans* will come. And see how just the
 ' Judgment of God was ; they crucified Christ,
 ' for fear lest the *Romans* should come : And his
 ' Death was it which brought in the *Romans* upon
 ' them, God punishing them with that which they
 ' most feared. And I pray God this Clamour
 ' of *Venient Romani* (of which I have given no
 ' Cause) don't help to bring them in ; for the
 ' Pope never had such a Harvest in *England* since
 ' the Reformation, as he hath now upon the Sects
 ' and Divisions that are amongst us. In the mean
 ' time, by honour and dishonour, by good report and
 ' evil

evil report, as a deciever, and yet true, am I passing through this World, 2 Cor. vi. 8.

And, first, this I shall be bold to speak of the King our Gracious Sovereign: He hath been much traduced also for bringing in of Popery: but, on my Conscience, (of which I shall give God a very present Account) I know him to be as free from this Charge as any Man living; and I hold him to be as sound a Protestant (according to the Religion by Law established) as any Man in this Kingdom, and that he will venture his Life as far and as freely for it; and I think I do, or should know, both his Affection to Religion, and his Grounds for it, as fully as any Man in *England*.

The second Particular is concerning this Great and Populous City, (*which God bleſs*). Here hath been of a late a Fashion taken up, to gather Hands, and then go to the Great Court of this Kingdom (the Parliament), and clamour for Justice! as if that Great and Wise Court, before whom the Causes come, (which are unknown to the Many) could not, or would not do Justice, but at their Appointment. A Way, which may endanger many an innocent Man, and pluck his Blood upon their own Heads, and perhaps upon their Cities also. And this hath been lately practised against myself; (*the Magistrates standing still, and suffering them openly to proceed from Parish to Parish without Check*). God forgive the Setters of this, (with all my Heart I beg it) but many well-meaning People are caught by it. In St. Stephen's Case, when nothing else would serve, *they stirred up the People against him*: And Herod went the same Way, when he had kill'd St. James; yet he would not venture upon St. Peter, 'till he found how the other pleased the People. But take heed
of

' of having your hands full of blood, for there is
 ' a Time (best known to himself) when God
 ' (above other Sins) *makes inquisition for blood;*
 ' and when that Inquisition is on Foot, the *Psal-*
 ' *mist* tells us, *That God remembers* (but that's not
 ' all *He remembers*) *and forgets not the complaint*
 ' *of the poor*, that is, whose Blood is shed by
 ' Oppression, *verse 9.* take heed of this, 'Tis a
 ' *fearful Thing to fall into the Hands of the living*
 ' *God*, but then especially, *when he is making In-*
 ' *quisition for Blood;* and with my Prayers to avert
 ' it, I do heartily desire this City to remember
 ' the Prophecy that is expressed *Jer. xxvi. 15.*

' The third Particular is the poor Church of
 ' *England.* It hath flourished, and been a Shel-
 ' ter to other neighbouring Churches, when
 ' Storms have driven upon them. But, alas!
 ' now 'tis in a Storm itself, and God only knows
 ' whether, or how it shall get out; and, which
 ' is worse than a Storm from without, it's be-
 ' come like an Oak cleft to Shivers with Wedges
 ' made out of its own Body, and at every Cleft
 ' Prophaneness and Irreligion is entring in, while,
 ' as *Prosper* speaks, (in his second Book *De Vitæ*
 ' *Contemptu, cap. 4.*) *Men that introduce Prophane-*
 ' *ness are cloaked over with the Name Religionis*
 ' *Imaginariz, of Imaginary Religion;* for we have
 ' lost the Substance, and dwell too much in Opi-
 ' nion; and that Church which all the Jesuits Ma-
 ' chinations could not ruin, is fallen into Danger
 ' by her own.

' The last Particular, for I am not willing to
 ' be too long, is myself: I was born and bap-
 ' tized in the Bosom of the Church of *England*
 ' established by Law; in that Profession I have
 ' ever since lived, and in that I come now to die:
 ' This is no Time to dissemble with God, least
 ' of all in Matters of Religion, and therefore I
 ' desire

‘ desire it may be remembred, I have always
‘ lived in the Protestant Religion, established in
‘ *England*, and in that I come now to die. What
‘ Clamours and Slanders I have endured for
‘ labouring to keep an Uniformity in the ex-
‘ ternal Service of God, according to the Doc-
‘ trine and Discipline of this Church, all Men
‘ know, and I have abundantly felt.

‘ Now at last I am accused of *High Treason* in
‘ Parliament, a Crime which my Soul ever ab-
‘ horred; this Treason was charged to consist of
‘ these two Parts, *An Endeavour to subvert the*
‘ *Laws of the Land*, and a like *Endeavour to over-*
‘ *throw the true Protestant Religion established by*
‘ *Law*. Besides my Answers to the several Char-
‘ ges, I protested my Innocency in both Houses.
‘ *It was said, Prisoners Proteftations at the Bar*
‘ must not be taken. I can bring no Witness of
‘ my Heart, and the Intentions thereof; there-
‘ fore I must come to my Protestation, not at
‘ the Bar, but my Protestation at this Hour
‘ and Instant of my Death; in which, I hope all
‘ Men will be such charitable Christians, as not
‘ to think I would die and dissemble, being in-
‘ stantly to give God an Account for the Truth
‘ of it. I do therefore, in the Presence of God,
‘ and his Holy Angels, take it upon my Death,
‘ That I never endeavoured the Subversion ei-
‘ ther of Law or Religion; and I desire you all
‘ to remember this Protest of mine for my Inno-
‘ cency, in these and from all Treasons whatso-
‘ ever. I have been accused likewise as an Ene-
‘ my to Parliaments. No, I understand them,
‘ and the Benefit that comes by them, too well to
‘ be so. But I did mislike the Misgovernment of
‘ some Parliaments many Ways, and I had good
‘ Reason for it. For *Corruptio optimi est pessima*,
‘ there is no Corruption in the World so bad, as
‘ that

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' that which is of the best Thing in itself; for the
 ' better the Thing is in Nature, the worse it is
 ' corrupted. And, That being the highest Court,
 ' over which no other have Jurisdiction, when
 ' 'tis mis-informed or mis-governed, the Subject
 ' is left without all Remedy. But I have done, I
 ' forgive all the World, all and every of those
 ' bitter Enemies which have persecuted me, and
 ' humbly desire to be forgiven of God first, and
 ' then of every Man, whether I have offended
 ' him or not, if he do but conceive that I have.
 ' Lord, do thou forgive me, and I beg Forgiveness
 ' of him. And so I heartily desire you to
 ' join in Prayer with me. '

The Archbishop's Prayer upon the Scaffold.

O Eternal God and Merciful Father, look down
 upon me in Mercy; in the Richness and Fulness
 of all thy Mercies look upon me; but not till thou hast
 nailed my Sins to the Cross of Christ; not till thou
 hast bathed me in the Blood of Christ; not till I have
 bid myself in the Wounds of Christ, that so the Pun-
 ishment due unto my Sins may pass over me. And
 since thou art pleased to try me to the utmost, I hum-
 bly beseech Thee, give me now, in this great Instant,
 full Patience, proportionable Comfort, and a Heart
 ready to die for thy Honour, the King's Happiness,
 and this Church's Preservation. And my Zeal to
 these (far from Arrogance be it spoken) is all the Sin
 (human Frailty excepted, and all Incidents thereto)
 which is yet known to me in this Particular, for which
 I now come to suffer; I say, in this Particular of
 Treason; but otherwise my Sins are many and great.
 Lord pardon them all, and those especially (whatever
 they are) which have drawn down this present Judg-
 ment upon me; and when thou hast given me Strength
 to bear it, do with me as seems best in thine own Eyes:
 and carry me through Death, that I may look upon it
 in

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in what Visage soever it shall appear to me, Amen. And that there may be a Stop of this Issue of Blood in this more than miserable Kingdom, (I shall desire that I may pray for the People too, as well as for myself) O Lord, I beseech Thee, give Grace of Repentance to all Blood-thirsty People; but if they will not repent, O Lord, confound all their Devices, defeat and frustrate all their Designs and Endeavours upon them, which are or shall be contrary to the Glory of thy great Name, the Truth and Sincerity of Religion, the Establishment of the King and his Posterity after Him in their just Rights and Privileges, the Honour and Conservation of Parliaments in their just Power, the Preservation of this poor Church in her Truth, Peace and Patrimony, and the Settlement of this distracted and distressed People under their ancient Laws, and in their native Liberties. And when thou hast done all this in mere Mercy for them, O Lord, fill their Hearts with Thankfulness, and with Religious dutiful Obedience to Thee and thy Commandments all their Days: So Amen, Lord Jesus, Amen, and receive my Soul into thy Bosom, Amen.

Our Father, which art, &c.

The Speech and Prayer being ended, he gave the Prayer, which he read, unto Dr. Sterne, desiring him to shew it to his other Chaplains, that they might know how he departed out of this World, and so prayed God to shew his Mercies and Blessings on them. And noting how one *Hind* had employed himself in taking a Copy of his Speech as it came from his Mouth; he desired him not to do him wrong in publishing a false or imperfect Copy. Which as *Hind* promised him to be careful of, calling for Punishment from above, if he should do otherwise; so hath he reasonably well perform'd his Promise; the Alterations or Additions which occur therein, being

perhaps the Work of those who perus'd his Papers, and were to authorize them to the publick View, to fit it more to the Palate of the City Faction, and make it more consistent with the Credit of those guilty Men, who had voted to his Condemnation. This done, he next applied himself to the *fatal Block*, as to the Haven of his Rest; but finding the Way full of People, who had placed themselves upon the Theatre to behold the Tragedy, he desired *he might have Room to die*, beseeching them to let *him have an End of his Miseries, which he had endured very long*. All which he did with so serene and calm a Mind, as if he had been rather taking Order for another Man's Funeral, than making Way unto his own. Being come near the *Block*, he put off his Doublet, and used some Words to this Effect; *God's Will be done, I am willing to go out of this World, no Man can be more willing to send me out of it*. And seeing through the Chinks of the Boards, that some People were got under the Scaffold, about the very Place where the Block was seated, he called on the Officers for some Dust to stop them, or to move the People thence, saying, it was no Part of his Desires, that *his Blood should fall upon the Heads of the People*. Never did Man put off Mortality with a braver Courage, nor look upon his bloody and malicious Enemies with more Christian Charity: And thus far he was gone on his Way towards *Paradise* with such a primitive Magnanimity, as equal'd, if not exceeded, the Example of ancient Martyrs; when he was somewhat interrupted in his quiet Passage by one Sir John Clotworthy, a Firebrand brought from Ireland by the Earl of Warwick, to increase the Combustions in this Kingdom, who finding that the *Mockings and Revilings* of malicious People had no Power to move him, or sharpen him into any

Discon-

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Discontent or Shew of Paſſion, would needs put in and try what he could do with his *Spunge and Vinegar*; and ſtepping to him near the Block, asked him, (with ſuch a Purpose as the *Scribes and Pharifees* uſed to propoſe Questions to our Lord and Saviour) not to learn by him, but to tempt him, or to expoſe him to ſome Diſadvantage with the Standers-by, Which was the comfortableſt Saying which a dying Man could have in his Mouth? To which he meekly made this Answer, *Cupio diſſolvi, & eſſe cum Chriſto*; i. e. *I deſire to be diſſolv'd, and to be with Chriſt*. Being asked again, What was the fitteſt Speech a Man could uſe, to expreſs his Confidence and Assurance? He answered with the ſame Spirit and Meekneſs, That ſuch *Assurance was to be found within, and that no Words were able to expreſs it rightly*. Which when it would not ſatisfy the troubleſome and impertinent Man, (who aimed at ſomething elſe than ſuch Satisfaction) unleſs he gave ſome Word or Place of Scripture, whereupon ſuch Assurance might be truly founded; he uſed ſome Words to this Effect, That it was the *Word of God concerning Chriſt, and his dying for us*. And ſo without expecting any further Questions, (for he perceived by the Manner of Sir *John's* Proceedings, that there would be no End of his Interruptions, if he hearken'd any longer to him) he turned towards his *Executioner*, (the gentler and diſcreeter Man of the two) and gave him Money, ſaying, without the leaſt Diſtemper or Change of Countenance, *Here, honeſt Friend, God forgive thee, and do thy Office upon me with Mercy*; and having given a Sign when the Blow ſhould come, he kneeled down upon his Knees, and prayed as followeth:

LORD, I am coming as faſt as I can, I know I
muſt paſs through the Shadow of Death before I

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can come to see Thee: But it is but Umbra Mortis, a mere Shadow of Death, a little Darkneſs upon Nature; but thou by thy Merits and Paſſion haſt broke through the Jaws of Death. So, Lord, receive my Soul, and have Mercy upon me, and bleſs this Kingdom with Peace and Plenty, and with brotherly Love and Charity, that there may not be this Effuſion of Chriſtian Blood amongſt them, for Jeſus Chriſt's Sake, if it be thy Will.

Then laying his Head upon the Block, and praying ſilently to himſelf, he ſaid aloud, *Lord, receive my Soul*, which was the Signal given to the Executioner, who very dexterouſly did his Office, and took it off at one Blow, his Soul aſcending on the Wings of Angels into *Abraham's Boſom*, and leaving his Body on the Scaffold to the Care of Men; a Spectacle ſo unpleaſing unto moſt of thoſe who had deſired his Death with much Heat and Paſſion, that many who came with greedy Eyes to ſee him ſuffer, went back with weeping Eyes when they ſaw him dead; their Conſciences perhaps bearing Witneſs to them, as you know whoſe did, that they *had ſinned* in being guilty of ſuch innocent Blood. Of thoſe, whom only Curioſity and Deſire of Novelty brought thither to behold that unuſual Sight, many had not the Patience to attend the Iſſue, but went away as ſoon as the Speech was ended; others returned much altered in the Opinion which before they had of him, and bettered in their Reſolutions towards the King and the Church, whoſe Honour and religious Purpoſes they ſaw ſo clearly vindicated by this glorious Martyr. And for the reſt, (the moſt conſiderable, though perhaps the ſmalleſt part of that great Aſſembly) as they came thither with no other Intention, than to aſſiſt him with their Prayers, to embalm his Body with their Tears,

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Tears, and to lay up his dying Speeches in their Hearts and Memories: So, when they had performed those Offices of Christian Duty, they comforted themselves with this, that as his Life was honourable, so his Death was glorious, the Pains whereof were short and momentary to himself, the Benefit like to be perpetual unto them and others, who were resolv'd to live and die in the Communion of the Church of *England*.

It was observed, that whereas other Men, when they come to the *Block*, use to look pale, and wan, and ghastly, and are even dead before the Blow, he on the contrary seem'd more fresh and chearful than he had done any part of the Day before; a clear and gallant Spirit being like the Sun, which shews greatest always at the Setting. And as the Scripture tells us of St. *Stephen*, the *Protomartyr*, that whilst he spake his last Oration before the *Chief Priests* and *Elders* of the *Jews*, they of the *Council* looking stedfastly upon him, saw his Face as if it had been of an *Angel*: So was it generally observ'd, not without Astonishment, that all the while our *Martyr* prayed upon the *Block*, the Sun, which had not shewn itself all the Day till then, did shine directly on his Face, which made him look most comfortably; (that I say not gloriously) but presently, as soon as the Blow was given, withdrew behind a Cloud again, and appeared no more. And if the Bodies of us Men be capable of any Happiness in the *Grave*, he had as great Share therein, as he could desire, or any of his Friends expect: His Body being accompanied to the Earth with great Multitudes of People, whom Love, or Curiosity, or Remorse of Conscience had drawn together, purposely to perform that Office, and decently interr'd in the Church of *Allballows Barking*, (a Church of his own Patronage and Jurisdiction) according to the Rites

86 *Archbishop Laud's Death.*

and Ceremonies of the Church of *England*. In which it may be noted, as a Thing remarkable, that being, whilst he lived, the greatest Champion of the *Common-Prayer-Book* here by Law established, he had the Honour, being dead, to be buried in the Form therein prescrib'd, after it had been long disused, and reprobated in most Churches of *London*. Nor need Posterity take Care to provide his *Monument*. He built one for himself while he was alive; it being well observed by Sir *Edward Dering*, (one of his most malicious *Enemies*, and him who threw the first In his Book of Stone at him in the Beginning of Speeches. this Parliament) that *St. Paul's Church* will be his perpetual *Monument*, and his own Book (against the *Jesuits*) his lasting *Epitaph*.

On the Archbishop's Coffin was nailed a little *Brass Plate*, with his Arms, and this Inscription engraven thereon:

In hac Cistula conduntur Exuviae Gulielmi Laud, Archiepiscopi Cantuariensis; qui Securi percussus, Immortalitatem adiit Die 10 Januarii, Aetatis suae LXXII. Archiepiscopatus XII.

In the Year 1663. his Body was remov'd from *Allballows Church* in *London*, and, being carried to *Oxford*, was there solemnly deposited, *July 24.* in a little *Brick Vault* near to the Altar of the Chapel, in *St. John Baptist's College*.

His last Character is thus given by the Lord *Clarendon*: ' He underwent his Sentence with all
' Christian Courage and Magnanimity, to the
' Admiration of the Beholders, and Confusion of
' his Enemies. Much hath been said of the Per-
' son of this great Prelate before, of his great
' Endowments, and natural Infirmities; to which
' shall be added no more in this Place, (his
' Memory deserving a particular Celebration)
' than

The Murder of Dr. Raleigh. 87

‘ than that his Learning, Piety, and Virtue,
‘ have been attained by very few, and the
‘ greatest of his Infirmities are common to all,
‘ even to the best of Men. ’

*The Murder of the Reverend Dr. Walter Raleigh
at Wells, October 10. 1646.*

TH^O’ the Blood of this very learned and excellent Person was not shed by Sentence of a *Council of War*, or a pretended *Court of Justice*, yet considering how far the Fury of those rebellious Times contributed thereunto, and how by undeniable Consequence many of the prevailing Rebels were Accessaries to the horrid Fact, and thereby became as guilty as the Wretch who had the Boldness to commit it; it may not be improper, in this Place, and according to Order of Time, to present the Reader with some short Memoirs relating to this truly Reverend Sufferer, as likewise, with the Manner of his execrable Murder.

He was second Son of Sir *Carew Raleigh*, who was elder Brother to the famous Sir *Walter*: His excellent Parts engag’d him in a strict Familiarity and Acquaintance with three Men, who were the Wonder of the Age they liv’d in, viz. Lord *Falkland*, Dr. *Hammond*, and Mr. *Chillingworth*; he became Chaplain to the Earl of *Pembroke*, about the Time of whose lamented Death he likewise serv’d King *Charles* the First in that Quality, when he was created D. D. in 1636. and admitted Dean of *Wells* in 1641. and had farther been promoted by the King, had not the unnatural War, which presently after broke out, put an untimely

88 *The Murder of Dr. Raleigh.*

End to both their Lives: At which Time he was sequestred, plunder'd, and hurried from one Prison to another, and still immur'd there, where several Prisoners dy'd of the Plague, till at last he was sent Prisoner to *Ilchester*, the County Gaol, thence to *Barnwell House*, and from thence to the House belonging to the Deanery in *Wells*, where he was committed to the Custody of that most vile Wretch, *David Barret*, a Shoemaker, and at that Time a Constable of the City, who treated him far beneath his Quality and Function, and from being his Keeper, at last became his Murderer, as follows.

Whilst the Committee of *Somerset* were sitting at *Wells*, the Doctor took an Occasion of preferring a Request to them for Liberty to visit his Wife and Children, in order to settle some Affairs which very nearly concerned them; and for their Satisfaction and Security, a Gentleman of a Thousand Pounds *per Annum* offered to be bound for his Return at the Time they should appoint him: But this common Favour being inhumanly denied him, the pious Doctor, in a modest Resentment of so unreasonable a Refusal, reply'd; That it was very hard, that He, who asked Leave, should not be permitted to go visit his Family, and settle his necessary Affairs, whilst others, who had no Leave from the Committee, had that Liberty allowed them for a Week, or a Fortnight. This Expression of the Doctor's proved an Intimation to the Committee, that *Barret* the Gaoler took a Liberty unwarrantable from them, of letting some of the Prisoners go abroad without their Privacy: Upon which they were very angry with him, and threatned to turn him out, if ever he should grant such a Liberty to any Prisoner for the future. This Complaint of the Doctor's, and Reprimand of the Committee, so incensed *Barret*,
(who

The Murder of Dr. Raleigh. 89

(who indeed wanted no greater Instigation than his natural Ferity) that coming the next Morning into the Doctor's Chamber, who happen'd then to be writing to his Wife, to let her know he could not procure Leave to come and see her, *Barret*, supposing it might be a Letter of Intelligence to be sent to some Cavalier, offered to wrest it out of the Doctor's Hand; who refused to deliver it to him, unless he could produce an Order from the Committee for that Purpose; and the Doctor's Strength preventing the Sauciness of his Keeper, who could not by Force get the Letter from him, so far added to his former brutal Rage, that stepping back he drew his Sword, and ran it immediately into the good Man's Belly to his Back-Bone; upon which he tumbled out of his Chair as dead; but being brought to Life again by proper Applications, he continued in a languishing Condition about Six Weeks, and then died of his Wounds, *Octob.* 10. 1646, and was buried the 13th of the same Month, before the Dean's Stall in the Choir of the Cathedral Church of *St. Andrew* in *Wells*. Thus was the Blood of this great and good Man shed as the Blood of a Dog, to the great Grief of his Royal Master, and all his loyal Subjects, that had the Happiness to know him.

Nor was this all: For tho' his Widow prosecuted the vile Murderer two Affizes successively, she was so far from bringing him to condign Punishment, that she could not obtain the common Justice of bringing him to a Tryal; and she falling sick before the third Affize came, and not able to attend, the Assassins had the Impudence to appear, and by the Partiality and Favour of the Court was acquitted: And what is yet still more wonderful, that vile Committee so far indulg'd this execrable Murder, that they sent forth their
Warrants

90 *The Murder of Dr. Raleigh.*

Warrants to apprehend the Doctor's eldest Son, Mr. *George Raleigh*, because he was instrumental in carrying on the Prosecution against *Barret*, inso-much that he was forc'd to fly his Country for Security, or might have shared the Doctor's Fate for being his Father's Son, or offering to do Justice to his Memory. After Mr. *George Raleigh's* withdrawing himself, *Barret* was released, and by the aforesaid Committee restored to his Place. Nor did their Rage and Malice stop here; for the same Committee apprehended, imprisoned and kept in Custody (to the very Hour of his Death) one Mr. *Standish*, a *Clergy-Vicar* of the Church of *Wells*, because he had given Dr. *Raleigh* Christian Burial, that is, had buried him by the *Common-Prayer*.

It is a very useful Remark, which Bishop *Patrick* makes in his Preface to our Author's Sermons and Discourses: ' Thus fell, says he, this
' excellent Person; in whose Writings I beseech
' all the Authors and Abettors of the late Confu-
' sions, who still survive, to see what kind of
' Men they persecuted in their blind Rage; that
' it may be a Warning to them for ever, and
' that they may give their Posterity a Charge, to
' beware how they let loose the like furious Pas-
' sion in Time to come. By which, as an un-
' known Writer speaks concerning another of
' those Sufferers, (Dr. *Stuart*) *They either robbed*
' *themselves of those holy Men and Means, which*
' *God had given them; or else exchanged Gold for*
' *Counters, the Cherubims of the Temple for the*
' *Calves of Bethel.* '

It is very remarkable what Dr. *Walker*, in his Account of the *Suffering Clergy* of those Times, observes of this barbarous Assassin: ' As for *Bar-*
' *ret*, says he, the Miscreant that murder'd Dr.
' *Raleigh*,

The Murder of Dr. Raleigh. 91

‘ *Raleigh*, I am inform’d by a very ancient Gentleman of *Wells*, that he was a *Renegade Welshman*, and not worth one Groat when he came to *Wells*; but afterwards by Plundering and other such Practices of those Times, he had got an Estate of about sixteen Pounds *per Annum*; (which observe by the way is now crumbled away to nothing) and that having married a Woman in *Wells*, there was another from *Wales*, that had two Children by him, came after him, and sued him for her Husband. Such was this reforming Saint, (exactly agreeable to the Principles of those impious Times) whom neither Murder nor Adultery could blemish; however, he must still be continued in the Favour and Service of the Committee, as one of the Godly. I have been further inform’d at *Wells*, continues he, that the Sister of this Fellow’s Wife had her Mouth drawn back to her Neck in a most frightful and dismal Manner, and expired in that Posture; crying out on her Death-bed, that her Brother-in-Law had made her damn her Soul by false Swearing, because she had upon her Oath deposed, that *Dr. Raleigh* struck *Barret* first. ’

The Tryal and Execution of Captain BURLY at Winchester, Feb. 10. 1647.

WHILE the King was under Confinement in the *Isle of Wight*, he was made so close a Prisoner, that Colonel *Hammond* the Governor had caus’d all his Servants, who till then had all Liberty to be with him, to be immediately put out of the Castle; and forbid any of them to repair thither

92 *Execution of Captain Burly.*

thither any more ; and appointed a strong Guard to restrain any Body from going to the King, if they should endeavour it.

This strange Proceeding put the Island into a high Mutiny. They said, ‘ They would not endure to see their King so us’d, and made a Prisoner. ’ And there was at that Time one Captain *Burly*, a Person of a good Family in the Island, who had been a Commander in His Majesty’s Fleet, and put out of Commission when they rebell’d against the King, and was afterwards an Officer of good Account in the King’s Army to the End of the War. This Gentleman being by chance at *Newport*, indiscreetly caus’d a Drum to be beaten, and put himself at the Head of the People, who flock’d together, and cried, *For God, the King, and the People*, and said, *He would lead them to the Castle, and rescue the King from his Captivity.* This Attempt was soon discerned to be rash and impracticable ; and by the Diligence of the King’s Servants, just put out of the Castle, the People were quieted. and all return’d to their Houses. But the poor Gentleman paid dear for his unseasonable Loyalty. For *Hammond* caus’d him presently to be made a Prisoner, and sent him over to *Winchester*, where the Parliament, without Delay, sent down a Commission of Oyer and Terminer, in which an infamous Judge, *Wild*, whom they had made Chief Baron of the Exchequer for such Services, presided ; who caus’d this Gentleman to be, with all Formality, indicted of High Treason for *levying War against the King, and engaging the Kingdom in a new War*, of which a pack’d Jury found him Guilty ; whereupon their Judge condemn’d him, and the unfortunate Captain was, with all Circumstances of Barbarity and Cruelty, forthwith hang’d, drawn, and quarter’d, *Feb. 10. 1647.* Which struck a wonderful
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The Death of Sir Charles Lucas, &c. 93

Terror into all Men, and made a deeper Impression upon them, than all the Severities they had exercis'd in their Courts of War.

The Manner of the Sufferings of Sir Charles Lucas, and Sir George Lisle, who were shot to Death at Colchester, Aug. 30. 1648.

THE *Scotch* Army had been lately defeated, from which those noble Persons assembled in the Town of *Colchester* had expected Relief, in Hopes whereof they had held out with incredible Courage and Constancy. The Siege continued ten Weeks, accompanied with the most excessive Rains, Floods, and dismal Weather, 'till at length the Besieged having almost consumed their Horses, Dogs, and Cats, and what else was no less abhorrent to Nature, and being now utterly disappointed of their Hopes by the Defeat of the Duke of *Hamilton*, had taken a Resolution to force their Way through the Enemies Leaguer, or die nobly : but some unworthy Spirits having infus'd a Belief into the common Soldiers, that the Commanders and Gentlemen design'd to leave them to the Enemy's Mercy, the Design fail'd ; so they were compell'd, on the 28th of *August*, to surrender upon such Conditions as the Enemy would grant them : which being concluded, the Lord *Fairfax* enter'd the Town, and call'd a Council of War, before whom Sir *Charles Lucas*, Sir *George Lisle*, and Sir *Bernard Gascoigne* were conven'd, and, without being call'd to answer for themselves, they were convey'd to the Castle, whither immediately *Ireton* came, and told them, *They must prepare themselves to die.* Whereupon Sir
Charles

94 *The Death of Sir Charles Lucas,*

Charles ask'd him, By what Law? To which the other reply'd, It was by Vote of the Council of War according to an Order of Parliament, by which all found in Arms were to be proceeded against as Traytors. Sir Charles then desired to be respited 'till the Morning, but was deny'd by Ireton: Upon which he continued, Sir, Do not think that I make this Request out of a Desire to live, for I scorn to ask Life at your Hands; but that I might have Time to make some Addresses to God above, and settle some Things below: but since it will not be by your Charity, I must submit to the Mercy of God; Do your worst, I shall soon be ready for Execution. Sir George Lisle likewise desir'd some Respite to write to his Father and Mother, but was deny'd. So having had some private Prayers with the Chaplain, and receiv'd the Sacrament, they were led to the Place of Execution. The first brought to the Place was Sir Charles Lucas, who told them, He had often look'd Death in the Face, and they should see he durst die: and so, after some private Prayers, he unbutton'd his Doublet, shewed them his Breast, and set his Hands to his Sides, calling out, See, I am ready for you; Rebels, Do your worst! At which Words they immediately fir'd, and shooting him in four Places, he fell. Whereupon Sir George Lisle ran to him, embraced and kissed him; then turning to the Spectators, he said, How many of your Lives have I sav'd in hot Blood, and must myself be barbarously murdered in cold! But what durst they not do, who would willingly destroy my dear Sovereign! for whose Deliverance, and Peace to this poor Nation, I dedicate my last Prayers to Heaven. Then looking upon the Executioners, and thinking them at too great a Distance, he bad them come nearer: At which one of them said, I'll warrant you, Sir, we'll bit you. He answer'd, smiling, Friends, I have been nearer to you, when you have mis'd me: And

And so being fired at all at once, he fell to the Ground without speaking. Sir *Bernard Gascoigne* was ready for Execution ; but being an *Italian*, and a Person of some Interest in his own Country, his Life was spared.

The two valiant Knights were both buried in the same Grave, in the Parish-Church of *St. Giles*, standing without the Walls of *Colchester*, and in the Gift of *John Lord Lucas* deceased, who lies there buried also, and who, after the Restauration of King *Charles* the Second, laid a large flat Marble Stone, with an Inscription (to perpetuate the Memory of the two aforesaid Sufferers) cut in Letters very deep and large, to prevent the wearing of them out by Time, or other Accidents ; which is as follows :

Underneath this Marble lie the Bodies of Sir Charles Lucas, and Sir George Lisle, Knights, two valiant Captains for the King. who, upon the 28th of August, 1648, were by Sir Thomas Fairfax, then General of the Parliament Forces, barbarously murdered in cold Blood.

N. B. Mr. *Newcourt*, in his *Repertorium*, has this Remark ; ‘ That in the Place where they fell, which was on the North-side of the Castle, some few Paces from the Wall, it has been commonly said, that the Grass never grew afterwards : The Truth whereof the ancient Inhabitants of the Town can best tell, from some of whom I have heard it related ; only thus far I can speak of mine own Knowledge, that being there in the Years 1677 and 1680, thirty-two Years after this Fact, I was then there at this fatal Place, and at both times I observ’d there was no Grass growing, but long Grass by the Sides, hanging over the Edges of it : but
‘ having

96 *The Execution of Col. Poyer, &c.*

‘ having been there since, I find it no more to
‘ be seen, for it lay then buried under a great
‘ deal of Rubbish thrown down from the Castle-
‘ Wall.’

The Execution of Colonel Poyer, who was shot to Death in Covent-Garden; as likewise of Major Pitcher, who underwent the same Fate over-against St. Faith's, Dec. 29. 1648; and Major Monday at Lancafter.

Colonel Poyer, with Major-General Langborne, and Colonel Powel, three valiant *Welshmen*, had taken up Arms for the King in their own Country, in Detestation of those bloody Votes of *Non-Addresses* by the Faction at *Westminster*: but it pleased God not to succeed that Enterprize, being defeated by Col. Horton; whereupon they retreated with the broken Remains of their Army to the Town of *Pembroke*, which they fortified, and valiantly defended for the Space of three Months against Horton and Cromwell, who with a great Power was come in to their Recruit: but wanting Necessaries, and hopeless of Relief, Valour was forced to condescend to what Barbarity should propound, which was, to *render at Mercy*; the Effect whereof was, according to the Order of a Council of War, *That the three Colonels should draw Lots for their Lives*, which happen'd to fall upon this unfortunate Gentleman, who was thereupon shot to Death in *Covent-Garden*.

Major Pitcher was likewise another valiant Loyalist, who, out of a Sense of the King and Kingdom's Misery, and a deep Apprehension of the sad Consequences thereof, engaged in Arms for the Restitution of his sacred Majesty, being among
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The Execution of Mr. Beaumont. 97

the Number of those, who with so much Valour and Magnanimity defended *Pembroke* 'till they were obliged to *surrender upon Articles*, by which he was, *To depart the Kingdom for three Years, and not to return on Pain of Death* : but accounting it base to desert his Prince, and hoping there might be farther Occasion of Service to his Majesty, by reason the strange Actions of the *Westminster Junto* had made them odious to the Generality of People, he staid in *London* ; and being betray'd by some ignominious Wretches, was apprehended and condemned by a Council of War, and, according to their inhuman Sentence, was barbarously murdered, being shot to Death over-against *St. Faith's Door*, Dec. 29. 1648.

N. B. About the same time Major *Monday* was shot to Death at *Lancaster*. There were likewise some others slaughtered on the same Account, becoming unhappy Monuments of unfortunate Loyalty, and the Regicides Cruelty.

The Execution of the Reverend Mr. Beaumont, who was hang'd at Pontefract, Febr. 15. 1648-9.

THIS Reverend Gentleman was Chaplain to the Garison of *Pontefract* for his Majesty, the whole Design of seizing of which was laid at his House, within five Miles of that Castle. He had the Character of an Orthodox Divine, and was noted for his loyal and constant Adherence to the King's Cause, and holding Correspondence in Cyphers with some active Royalists, as Major *Morrice* the Governor, &c. but being discover'd by an intercepted Letter, he was seiz'd, imprison'd, and had extreme heavy Irons laid upon him ; and

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be-

98 *The several Speeches, &c.*

because he would not discover those who were concerned with him, he was try'd by a Council of War, and executed within the compass of two Hours, *Febr. 15. 1648.* And to complete this outrageous Barbarity, one of his nearest Relations was forced to have a Hand in the Execution. He left behind him a Wife and four small Children, with little or nothing to maintain them.

The several Speeches and Deportments of Duke Hamilton, the Earl of Holland, and the Lord Capel, immediately before their Execution, upon the Scaffold in the Palace-yard, Westminster, on Friday March 9. 1649.

UPon *Friday, March 9. 1649,* being the Day appointed for the Execution of the Sentence of Death upon Duke *Hamilton*, the Earl of *Holland*, and the Lord *Capel*, about ten o'Clock that Morning, Lieutenant-Colonel *Beecher* came with his Order to the several Prisoners at *St. James's*, requiring them to come away. According to which Order, they were carried in Sedans, with a Guard, to Sir *Thomas Cotton's* House at *Westminster*, where they continued about the Space of two Hours, passing most of that Time in religious and seasonable Conferences with the Ministers there present with them. After which, being call'd away to the Scaffold, it was desired, that before they went, they might have the Opportunity of commending their Souls to God by Prayer; which being readily granted, and the Room voided, Mr. *Bolton* was desired by the Earl of *Holland* to take that Pains with them; which was accordingly done, with great Appearance of solemn Affections among them. Prayer being
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Duke Hamilton's Speech. 99

concluded, and hearty Thanks returned by them to the Ministers who performed, as also the rest who were their Assistants in this sad Time of Trouble, the Duke of *Hamilton* prepared first to go towards the Place of Execution; and after mutual Embraces, and some short ejaculatory Expressions to and for his Fellow-Sufferers, he took his Leave of them all, and went along with the Officers, attended upon by Dr. *Sibbald*, whom he had chosen for his Comforter in this his sad Condition.

The Scaffold being erected in the *New Palace-Yard* at *Westminster*, over-against the great Hall Gate, in the Sight of the Place where the High Court of Justice formerly sat (the Hall-Doors being open) there was his Excellency's Regiment of Horse, commanded by Captain *Discher*, and several Companies of Colonel *Hewson's* and Colonel's *Pride's* Regiments of Foot drawn up in the Place. When the Duke came from *Westminster-Hall* near the Scaffold, he was met by the Under-Sheriff of *Middlesex*, and a Guard of his Men, who took the Charge of him from Lieutenant-Colonel *Beecher*, and the Partizans that were his Guards; the Sheriff of *London* being also, according to Command from the High Court of Justice, present, to see the Execution perform'd.

Duke *Hamilton* being come upon the Scaffold, and two of his Servants waiting upon him, he spake first to the Doctor, as followeth:

Duke. Whether shall I pray first?

Dr. Sibbald. As your Lordship pleases.

Duke. My Lord of *Denbigh* has sent to speak with me.

I know not the Fashion, I may ask you, Sir, Do those Gentlemen expect I should say any Thing to them, or no? They cannot hear.

100 *Duke Hamilton's Speech.*

Dr. Sibbald. There will be a greater Silence by-and-by. It will not be amiss, if your Lordship defer your speaking, till you hear from his Lordship.

Duke. There is something in it, he was with me in the House.

Dr. Sibbald. I suppose he would give no Interruption to your Lordship at this Time, were there not something of Concernment in it.

Duke. He is my Brother, and has been a very faithful Servant to the State, and he was in great Esteem and Reputation with them. He is in the Hall, and sent to speak with a Servant of mine, to send something to me.

Dr. Sibbald. It will not lengthen the Time much, if you stay while you have a Return from him. My Lord, you should do well to bestow your Time now in meditating upon, and imploring of the free Mercy of God in Christ for your eternal Salvation, and look upon that ever-streaming Fountain of his precious Blood, that purgeth us from all our Sins, even the Sins of the deepest Dye: The Blood of Jesus Christ washes away all our Sins, and that Blood of Christ is poured forth upon all such as by a lively Faith lay hold upon him: *God so loved the World, that he gave his only begotten Son, to the End, that whosoever believeth in him, should not perish, but have everlasting Life:* That is now, my Lord, the Rock upon which you must chiefly rest, and labour to fix yourself in the free Mercy of God through Christ Jesus, whose Mercies are from Everlasting to Everlasting, unto all such as with the Eye of Faith behold him: Behold Jesus, the Author and Finisher of our Salvation, who hath satisfied the Justice of God by that All-sufficiency of his Sacrifice, which once for all he offered upon the Cross for the Sins of the whole World; so that
the

the Sting of Death is taken away from all Believers, and he hath sanctify'd it as a Passage to everlasting Blessedness: It is true, the Waters of *Jordan* run somewhat rough and surly betwixt the Wilderness and our Passage into *Canaan*; but let us rest upon the Ark, my Lord, the Ark Christ Jesus, that will carry us through and above all those Waves, to that Rock of Ages, which no *Flood* nor *Waves* can reach unto, and to him who is Yesterday, To-day, and the same for ever; against whom, the Powers and Principalities, the Gates of Hell shall never be able to prevail: Lift up and fasten your Eyes now upon Christ crucify'd, and labour to behold Jesus standing ready at the right Hand of his Father, (as the Protomartyr *Stephen*) ready to receive your Soul, when it shall be separated from this frail and mortal Body: Alas, no Man would desire Life, if he knew *beforehand* what it were to live, it is nothing but Sorrow, Vexation and Trouble, Grief and Discontent, that waits upon *every Condition*, whether publick or private; in every Station and Calling there are several Miseries and Troubles, that are inseparable from them; therefore what a blessed Thing is it to have a speedy and comfortable Passage out of this raging Sea, into the Port of everlasting Happiness! We must pass through a Sea, but it is the Sea of Christ's Blood, in which never Soul suffered Shipwreck, in which we must be blown with Winds and Tempests; but they are the Gales of God's Spirit upon us, which blow away all contrary Winds of Diffidence in his Mercy.

Here one acquainting the Duke his Servant was coming, he answered, ' So, Sir; ' and turning to the Under-Sheriff's Son, he said, ' Sir, have you your Warrant here? '

102 *Duke Hamilton's Speech.*

Sheriff. Yes, my Lord, we have a Command.

Duke. A Command! I take this Time, Sir, of staying, in regard of the Earl of *Denbigh's* sending to speak with me; I know not for what it is he desires me to stay.

Dr. Sibbald. I presume Mr. *Sheriff* will not grudge your Lordship a few Minutes Time, when so great a Work as this is at Hand.

His Lordship's Servant being returned, and having delivered his Message to the Duke privately, he said, ' So, it is done now. ' And then turning to the Front of the Scaffold, before which (as in all the rest of the Place) there was a great Concourse of People, he thus deliver'd himself:

' I Think it is truly not very necessary for me to
' speak much: There are many Gentlemen and
' Soldiers there that see me; but my Voice truly
' is so weak, so low, that they cannot hear me;
' neither truly was I ever at any Time so much in
' Love with speaking, or with any thing I had
' to express, that I took Delight in it; yet this
' being the last Time I am to do so, by a Divine
' Providence of Almighty God, who hath brought
' me to this End justly for my Sins; I shall, to
' you, Sir, Mr. *Sheriff*, declare thus much as to
' the Matter that I am now to suffer for; which
' is, as being a Traytor to the Kingdom of *Eng-*
' *land*: Truly, Sir, It was a Country that I equal-
' ly loved with my own, I made no Difference;
' I never intended either the Generality of its
' Prejudice, or any particular Man's in it; what
' I did was by the Command of the Parliament of
' the Country where I was born, whose Commands
' I could not disobey, without running into the
' same Hazard there, of that Condition that I am
' now

Duke Hamilton's Speech. 103

‘ now in: The Ends, Sir, of that *Engagement* are
‘ publick, they are in Print, and so I shall not
‘ need to specify them.

Dr. Sibbald. The Sun perhaps will be too much
in your Lordship's Face, as you speak.

Duke. No, Sir, it will not burn it; I hope I
shall see a brighter Sun than this, Sir, very
speedily.

Dr. Sibbald. The Sun of Righteousness, my
Lord.

Duke. (But to that which I was saying, Sir)
‘ It pleased God so to dispose that Army under
‘ my Command, as it was ruined; and I, as their
‘ General, cloathed with a Commission, stand
‘ here now ready to die: I shall not trouble you
‘ with repeating of my Plea, what I said in my
‘ own Defence at the Court of *JUSTICE*, myself
‘ being satisfied with the Commands that are laid
‘ upon me, and they satisfied with the Justness of
‘ their Procedure, according to the Laws of this
‘ Land. God is just, and howsoever I shall not
‘ say any thing as to the Matter of the Sentence,
‘ but that I do willingly submit to his Divine Pro-
‘ vidence; and I acknowledge, that very many
‘ Ways I deserve even a worldly Punishment, as
‘ well as hereafter; for we are all Sinners, Sir,
‘ and I a great one; yet, for my Comfort, I know
‘ there is a God in Heaven that is exceeding
‘ merciful; I know my Redeemer sits at his right
‘ Hand, and am confident, (*clapping his Hand to*
‘ *his Breast*) is mediating for me at this Instant;
‘ I am hopeful, thro' his free Grace, and all-suf-
‘ ficient Merits, to be pardoned of my Sins, and
‘ to be received into his Mercy; upon that I re-
‘ ly, trusting to nothing but the free Grace of
‘ God through Jesus Christ: I have not been
‘ tainted with my Religion, (I thank God for it)
‘ since my Infancy it has been such as hath been

' profess'd in the Land, and established ; and
 ' now it is not this Religion or that Religion, or
 ' this or that Fancy of Men that it is to be built
 ' upon ; 'tis but one that is right, one that's sure,
 ' and that comes from God, Sir, and in the free

' Grace of our Saviour. Sir, there
 * *Observing* ' is truly something, that (* had I
the Writers. ' thought my Speech would have
 ' been thus taken) I would have di-

' gested it into some better Method than now I
 ' can, and shall desire these Gentlemen that do
 ' write it, that they will not wrong me in it, and
 ' that it may not in this Manner be published to
 ' my Disadvantage ; for truly, I did not intend
 ' to have spoken thus when I came here.

' There are, Sirs, terrible Aspersions have been
 ' laid upon myself, truly such, as I thank God I
 ' am free from, as if my Actions and Intentions
 ' had not been such as they were pretended for ;
 ' but that notwithstanding what I pretended was
 ' for the King, there was Nothing less intended
 ' than to serve him in it. I was bred with him
 ' for many Years, I was his Domestick Servant,
 ' and there was Nothing declar'd by the Parlia-
 ' ment, that was not really intended by me ; and
 ' truly in it I ventured my Life one way, and
 ' now I lose it another way, and that was one of
 ' the Ends ; as to the King, I speak only of that,
 ' because the rest has many Particulars, and to
 ' clear myself from so horrid an Aspercion as is
 ' laid upon me ; neither was there any other De-
 ' sign known to me by the In-coming of the Ar-
 ' my, than what is really in the Declaration pub-
 ' lished. His Person I do profess I had Reason
 ' to love, as he was my King, and as he had
 ' been my Master ; it has pleased God now to
 ' dispose of him so as it cannot be thought Flat-
 ' tery to have said this, or any End in me for the
 ' saying

‘ saying of it, but to free myself from that Cal-
‘ lumny which lay upon me. I cannot gain by
‘ it, yet Truth is that which we shall gain by for
‘ ever.

‘ There hath been much spoken, Sir, of an In-
‘ vitation into this Kingdom; it’s mentioned in
‘ that Declaration; and truly to that I did and
‘ do remit myself: And I have been very much
‘ laboured for Discoveries of these Inviters; ’tis
‘ no Time to dissemble: How willing I was to
‘ have served in this Nation in any thing that
‘ was in my Power, is known to very many ho-
‘ nest, pious, and religious Men; and how ready
‘ I would have been to have done what I could
‘ to have served them, if it had pleased them to
‘ have preserved my Life, in whose Hands there
‘ was a Power: They have not thought it fit,
‘ and so I am become useless in that which wil-
‘ ling I would have done. As I said at first,
‘ Sir, so I say now concerning that Point; I wish
‘ the Kingdom’s Happiness, I wish it Peace; and
‘ truly, Sir, I wish that this Blood of mine may
‘ be the last that is drawn; and howsoever I may
‘ perhaps have some Reluctancy with myself, as
‘ to the Matter of my Fact, for my suffering for
‘ my Fact, yet I freely forgive all; Sir, I carry
‘ no Rancour along with me to my Grave; His
‘ Will be done, that hath created both Heaven
‘ and Earth, and me a poor miserable sinful
‘ Creature, now speaking before him. For me
‘ to speak, Sir, to you of State Business, and
‘ the Government of the Kingdom, or my Opi-
‘ nion in that, or for any thing in that Nature,
‘ truly it is to no End, it contributes nothing;
‘ my own Inclination hath been to Peace from
‘ the Beginning, and it is known to many, that
‘ I never was an ill Instrument betwixt the King
‘ and his People: I never acted to the Prejudice
‘ of

‘ of the Parliament ; I bore no Arms, I med-
 ‘ dled not with it ; I was not wanting by my
 ‘ Prayers to God Almighty for the Happiness of
 ‘ the King ; and truly I shall pray still, that God
 ‘ may so direct him, as that may be done, which
 ‘ shall tend to his Glory, and the Peace and Hap-
 ‘ piness of the Kingdom.

‘ I have not much more to say that I remember
 ‘ of ; I think I have spoken of my Religion. ’

Dr. Sibbald. Your Lordship has not so fully
 said it.

Duke. Truly, I do believe I did say some-
 thing.

Dr. Sibbald. I know you did, ’tis pleasing to
 hear it from your Lordship again.

Duke. Truly, Sir, for the Profession of my
 Religion, that which I said was the Established
 Religion, and that which I have practised in my
 own Kingdom where I was born and bred ; my
 Tenets need not to be express’d, they are known
 to all, and I am not of a rigid Opinion ; many
 godly Men there are, that may have Scruples,
 which do not concern me at all at no Time ; they
 may differ in Opinion, and now more than at any
 Time ; differing in Opinion does not move me,
 (not any Man’s) my own is clear, Sir : the Lord
 forgive me my Sins, and I forgive freely all those,
 that even I might (as worldly Man) have the
 greatest Animosity against : We are bidden to for-
 give, Sir ; ’tis a Command laid upon us, (and
 there mentioned) *Forgive us our Trespases, as we
 forgive them that trespass against us.*

Dr. Sibbald. ’Tis our Saviour’s Rule ; *Love
 your Enemies, bless them that curse you, pray for
 them that persecute you, do good to them that despite-
 fully use you.*

Duke. Sir, it is high Time for me to make an
 End of this ; and truly I remember no more that
 I

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I have to say, but to pray to God Almighty in a few Words, and then I have done.

Then kneeling down with Dr. SIBBALD, he prayed thus ;

MOST Blessed Lord, I thy poor and most unworthy Servant, come unto thee, presuming in thy infinite Mercy, and the Merits of Jesus Christ, who sits upon the Throne ; I come flying from that of Justice to that of Mercy and Tenderneſs, for his Sake which ſhed his Blood for Sinners ; that he would take Compassion upon me, that he would look upon me as one that graciously bears me, that he would look upon me as one that hath redeemed me, that he would look upon me as one that hath ſhed his Blood for me, that he would look upon me as one who now calls and hopes to be ſaved by his all-ſufficient Merits. For his Sake, glorious God, have Compassion upon me in the Freeneſs of thy infinite Mercy, that when this ſinful Soul of mine ſhall depart out of this frail Carcaſs of Clay, I may be carried into thy everlaſting Glory ; O Lord, by thy free Grace, and out of thy infinite Mercy, bear me ; and look down, and have Compassion upon me ; and thou, Lord Jeſus, thou my Lord, and thou my God, and thou my Redeemer, bear me, take Pity upon me, take Pity upon me, Gracious God, and ſo deal with my Soul, that by thy precious Merits I may attain to thy Joy and Blifs ; O Lord, remember me, ſo miſerable and ſinful a Creature ; now thou, O Lord, thou, O Lord, that diedſt for me, receive me, and receive me into thine own Bound of Mercy ; O Lord, I truſt in thee, ſuffer me not now to be confounded ; Satan has had too long Poſſeſſion of this Soul, O let him not now prevail againſt it ; but let me, O Lord, from henceforth dwell with thee for evermore.

Now, Lord, it is thy Time to bear me, bear me, gracious Jeſus, even for thy own Goodneſs, Mercy,
and

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and Truth ; O glorious God, O blessed Father, O holy Redeemer, O gracious Comforter, O holy and blessed Trinity, I do render up my Soul into thy Hands, and commit it, with the Mediation of my Redeemer, praising thee for all thy Dispensations that it hath pleased thee to confer upon me ; and even for this, Praise and Honour, and Thanks, from this Time forth for evermore.

Dr. Sibbald. My Lord, I trust you now behold with the Eye of Faith, the Sun of Righteousness shining upon your Soul, and will chearfully submit unto him who hath redeemed us through his Blood, even the Blood of Jesus Christ ; that you may appear at the Tribunal of God, cloathed with the white *Robe* of his unspotted Righteousness ; the Lord grant, that with the Eye of Faith you may now see the Heavens opened, and *Jesus Christ* standing at the Right Hand of God, ready to receive you into his Arms of Mercy.

Then the Duke turning to the Executioner, said, ‘ Shall I put on another Cap ? Must ‘ this Hair be turn’d up from my Neck ? ‘ There are three of my Servants to give ‘ Satisfaction. ’

Dr. Sibbald. My Lord, I hope you are able to give all that are about you Satisfaction ; you are assured that God is reconciled unto you through the Blood of Christ Jesus, and the Spirit of the Lord witnesseth to you, that Christ is become now a Jesus unto you. My Lord, fasten the Eyes of your Faith upon Jesus, the Author and Finisher of your Salvation, who himself was brought to a violent Death for the Redemption of Mankind ; he chearfully submitted to his Father’s good Pleasure in it, and for us : *Blessed and holy is*
be

be that bath Part, my Lord, in the first Resurrection; that is, in the first Riser Jesus Christ, who is both the Resurrection and the Life; over him the second Death shall have no Power: 'Tis the unspeakable Joy of a Believer, that at the Hour of Death his Soul hath an immediate Passage from this earthly Tabernacle to that Region of endless Glory, yea, to the Presence of God himself, in whose Presence is Fulness of Joy, and at whose Right Hand there are Pleasures for evermore.

Then the Duke, turning to the Executioner, said, ' Which Way is it that you would have me lie, Sir? ' The Executioner pointing to the Front of the Scaffold, the Duke replied, ' What, my Head this Way? ' Then the Under-Sheriff's Son said, ' My Lord, ' the Order is, that you should lay your Head ' towards the High Court of Justice. '

The Duke, after a little Discourse in private with some of his Servants, kneeled down on the Side of the Scaffold, and prayed awhile to himself. When he had finished his Prayer, Dr. Sibbald spake to him thus:

My Lord, I humbly beseech God, that you may now with an holy and Christian Courage give up your Soul to the Hand of your faithful Creator and gracious Redeemer, and not be dismayed with any sad Apprehension of the Terrors of this Death; and consider what a blessed and glorious Exchange you shall make within a very few Minutes.

Then with a chearful and smiling Countenance, the Duke embracing the Doctor in his Arms, said,

Duke. Truly, Sir, I do take you in my Arms; and truly I bless God for it, I do not fear: I have
an

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an Assurance that is grounded here (*laying his Hand upon his Heart*); now that gives me more true Joy than ever I had; I pass out of a miserable World to go into an eternal and glorious Kingdom; and Sir, tho' I have been a most sinful Creature, yet God's Mercy, I know, is infinite, and I bless my God for it, I go with so clear a Conscience, that I know not the Man that I have personally injur'd.

Dr. Sibbald. My Lord, it is a marvellous great Satisfaction that at this Hour you can say so; I beseech the Lord for his eternal Mercy strengthen your Faith, that in the very Moment of your Dissolution, you may see the Arms of the Lord Jesus stretched out ready to receive your Soul.

Then the Duke embracing those his Servants that were there present, said to each of them,
 ' You have been very faithful to me, and
 ' the Lord bless you. ' Then turning to the Executioner, said, ' I shall say a very
 ' short Prayer to my God, while I lie down
 ' there; and when I stretch out my Hand,
 ' (my right Hand) then Sir, do your Duty;
 ' and I freely forgive you, and so I do all
 ' the World. '

Dr. Sibbald. The Lord in great Mercy go along with you, and bring you to the Possession of everlasting Life, strengthen your Faith in Jesus Christ. This is a Passage, my Lord, a short Passage unto eternal Glory. I hope, through the free Grace of your gracious God, you are now able to say, *O Death, where is thy Sting? O Grave, where is thy Victory?* And to make this comfortable Answer, *Blessed be God, blessed be God, who hath given me an Assurance of Victory, thro' Christ Jesus.*

Then

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Then the Duke said to the Executioner, ' Must I lie so ? '

Execut. Yes, an't please your Lordship.

Duke. When I stretch out my Hands—but I will fit my Head first, tell me if I be right, and how you would have me lie.

Execut. Your Shirt must be pinn'd back, for it lies too high upon your Shoulders (*which was done accordingly*).

Dr. Sibbald. My Lord, Now, now lift up your Eyes unto Jesus Christ, and cast yourself now into the everlasting Arms of your gracious Redeemer.

Then the Duke having laid his Head over the Block, said, ' Is this right ? '

Dr. Sibbald. Jesus the Son of David have Mercy upon you.

Execut. Lie a little lower, Sir.

Duke. Well, stay then till I give you the Sign.

And so having lain a short Space devoutly praying to himself, he stretched out his right Hand, whereupon the Executioner at one Blow severed his Head from his Body ; which was received by two of his Servants, then kneeling by him, into a crimson Taffety Scarf, and with the Body immediately put into a Coffin, brought upon the Scaffold for that Purpose, and from thence convey'd to the House that was Sir *John Hamilton's* at the *Meuse*.

This Execution being done, the Sheriff's Guard went immediately to meet the Earl of *Holland*, which they did in the Mid-way, between the Scaffold and *Westminster-Hall*, and the Under-Sheriff's Son having received him into his Charge, conducting him to the Scaffold, he taking Mr. *Bolton* all the Way in his Hand, they passed all along to the Scaffold discoursing together ; upon which being come, observing his Voice would not reach

to

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to the People, in regard the Guard compassed the Scaffold; he said,

Henry Lord Rich, *Earl of Holland, his Speech on the Scaffold immediately before his Death, March 9. 1649.*

‘ **I**T is to no Purpose, I think, to speak any
‘ thing here. Which Way must I speak? ’
‘ *And then being directed to the Front of the Scaffold,*
‘ *be leaning over the Rails, said,* ‘ I think it is fit to
‘ say something, since God hath called me to this
‘ Place. The first Thing which I must profess,
‘ is, what concerns my Religion, and my Breed-
‘ ing, which hath been in a good Family, that
‘ hath ever been faithful to the true Protestant
‘ Religion, in the which I have been bred, in the
‘ which I have lived, and in the which, by God’s
‘ Mercy, I shall die. I have not lived according
‘ to that Education I had in that Family where I
‘ was born and bred. I hope God will forgive
‘ me my Sins, since I conceive it is very much
‘ his Pleasure to bring me to this Place, for the
‘ Sins I have committed. The Cause that hath
‘ brought me hither, I believe, by many hath
‘ been much mistaken. They have conceived
‘ that I have had ill Designs to the State, and to
‘ the Kingdom: Truly, I look upon it as a
‘ Judgment, and a just Judgment of God: Not
‘ but I have offended so much the State, and the
‘ Kingdom, and the Parliament, as that I have
‘ no extreme Vanity in serving them very extra-
‘ ordinarily. For those Actions that I have done,
‘ I think it is known they have been very faithful
‘ to the Publick, and very particularly to Parlia-
‘ ments.

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ments. My Affections have been ever express'd truly and clearly to them. The Dispositions of Affairs now, have put Things in another Posture than they were in when I was engaged with the Parliament. I have never gone off from those Principles that ever I have professed ; I have lived in them, and, by God's Grace, will die in them. There may be Alterations and Changes that may carry them farther than I thought reasonable ; and, truly, there I left them : but there hath been nothing that I have said, or done, or profess'd, either by Covenant or Declaration, which hath not been very constant, and very clear, upon the Principles that I have ever gone upon ; which was, to serve the King, the Parliament, Religion (I should have said in the first place), the Commonwealth, and to seek the Peace of the Kingdom : That made me think it no proper Time, being press'd out by Accidents and Circumstances, to seek the Peace of the Kingdom, which I thought was proper, since there was something then in Agitation, but nothing agreed on for sending Propositions to the King ; that was the farthest Aim that I had ; and, truly, beyond that, I had no Intention, none at all. And, God be praised, altho' my Blood comes to be shed here, there was scarce (I think) a Drop of Blood shed in that Action I was engaged in. For the present Affairs, as they are, I cannot tell how to judge of them : And, truly, they are in such a Condition, as I conceive no body can make a Judgment of them ; and therefore I must make use of Prayers, rather than of my Opinion ; which are, That God would bless this Kingdom, this Nation, this State ; and that he would settle it in a Way agreeable to what this Kingdom hath been happily governed under, by a King, by the
I Lords,

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' Lords, by the Commons ; a Government that
 ' I conceive it hath flourished much under ; and
 ' I pray God, the Change of it may not bring ra-
 ' ther a Prejudice, a Disorder, and a Confusion,
 ' than the contrary. I look upon the Posterity
 ' of the King, and truly my Conscience directs
 ' to it, to desire, that if God be pleased, these
 ' People may look upon them with that Affection
 ' that they owe, that they may be called in again,
 ' and they may be, not through Blood, nor
 ' through Disorder, admitted again into that
 ' Power, and to that Glory, that God in their
 ' Birth, intended to them. I shall pray with
 ' all my Soul for the Happiness of this State,
 ' of this Nation, that the Blood which is here
 ' spilt may even be the last that may fall among
 ' us : And truly I should lay down my Life with
 ' as much Chearfulness as ever Person did, if I
 ' conceived that there would be no more Blood
 ' follow us ; for a State, or Affairs that are built
 ' upon Blood, is a Foundation, that, for the most
 ' part, does not prosper.

' After the Blessing that I give to the Nation,
 ' to the Kingdom, and truly to the Parliament,
 ' I do wish, with all my Heart, Happiness and a
 ' Blessing to all those that have been Authors in
 ' this Business, and truly, that have been Authors
 ' in the very Work that brings us hither : I do
 ' not only forgive them, but I pray heartily and
 ' really for them, as God will forgive my Sins,
 ' so I desire God may forgive them.

' I have a particular Relation, as I am Chan-
 ' cellor of *Cambridge* ; and truly I must here, since
 ' it is the last of my Prayers, pray to God, that
 ' that University may go on in that happy Way
 ' which it is in, that God may make it a Nursery
 ' to plant those Persons that may be distributed to
 ' the Kingdom, that the Souls of the People may
 ' receive

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‘ receive a great Benefit, and a great Advantage,
‘ by them ; and I hope God will reward them
‘ for their Kindness and their Affections that I have
‘ found from them. * I have said
‘ what Religion I have been bred * *Looking towards*
‘ in, what Religion I have been *Mr. Bolton.*
‘ born in, what Religion I have practis’d ; I be-
‘ gan with it, and I must end with it. I told you,
‘ that my Actions and my Life have not been
‘ agreeable to my Breeding. I have told you
‘ likewise, that the Family where I was bred,
‘ hath been an exemplary Family, (I may say
‘ so, I hope, without Vanity) of much Affection
‘ to Religion, and of much Faithfulness to this
‘ Kingdom, and to this State. I have endeavour’d
‘ to do those Actions that became an honest Man,
‘ and a good *English-man*, and which became a
‘ good Christian. I have been willing to oblige
‘ those that have been in Trouble, those that
‘ have been in Persecution ; and truly I find a
‘ great Reward of it ; for I have found their
‘ Prayers, and their Kindness, now in this Distress,
‘ and in this Condition, and I think it a great
‘ Reward ; I pray God reward them for it.

‘ I am a great Sinner, and I hope God will be
‘ pleased to hear my Prayers, to give me Faith
‘ to trust in him ; that as he hath called me to
‘ Death at this Place, he will make it but a Pas-
‘ sage to an eternal Life, through Jesus Christ,
‘ which I trust to, which I rely upon, and which
‘ I expect, by the Mercy of God. And so, I
‘ pray God bless you all, and send that you may
‘ see this to be the last Execution, and the last
‘ Blood, that is likely to be spilt among you.’

And then turning to the Side-rail, he prayed for a
good Space of Time : After which, *Mr. Bolton* said ;

My Lord, now look upon him whom you have
trusted. *My Lord*, I hope that here is your last

Prayer ; there will no more Prayers remain, but Praises : and I hope, that after this Day is over, there will a Day begin that will never have End ; and I look upon this, *my Lord*, the Morning of it, the Morning of that Day. *My Lord*, you know where your Fulness lies, where your Riches lie, where is your only Rock to anchor on ; you know there is a Fulness in Christ : If the Lord come not with Fulness of Comfort to you, yet resolve to wait upon him while you live, and to trust in him when you die ; and then say, I will die here, I will perish at thy Feet, I will be found dead at the Feet of Jesus Christ. Certainly he that came to seek, and save lost Sinners, will not reject lost Sinners when they come to seek him : He that intreateth us to come, will not slight us when we come to intreat him. *My Lord*, there is enough there ; and fix your Heart there, and fix your Eyes there, that Eye of Faith, and that Eye of Hope ; exercise these Graces now, there will be no Exercise hereafter. As your Lordship said, here take an End of Faith, and an End of Hope, and take a Farewel of Repentance, and all these ; and welcome God, and welcome Christ, and welcome Glory, and welcome Happiness to all Eternity ; and so it will be an happy Passage then, if it be a Passage here from Misery to Happiness. And though it be but a sad Way, yet if it will bring you into the Presence of Joy, although it be a Valley of Tears, although it be a Shadow of Death, yet if God will please to bring you, and make it a Passage to that Happiness, welcome Lord. And I doubt not but God will give you an Heart to taste some Sweetness and Love in this bitter Potion, and to shew something of Mercy and Goodness to you, and shew you some Sign and Token of Good, so that your Soul may see that which we have had already

Expe-

Experience of, (blessed be God for it) many Experiences, many Expressions, not only in Words, but Tears; God hath not left us without much Comfort and Evidence; and I hope, *my Lord*, you that have given so many Evidences to us, I hope you want none yourself; but that the Lord will be pleased to support you, and bear up your Spirit; and if there wants Evidence, there is Reliance: my Security lies not in my knowing that I shall come to Heaven, and come to Glory, but in my resting and relying upon him. When the Anchor of Faith is thrown out, there may be Shockings and Tossings, but there is Safety: nothing shall interrupt Safety, although something may interrupt Security; my Safety is sure, although I apprehend it not: And what if I go to God in the dark? what if I come to him, as *Nicodemus* did, staggering in the Night? It is a Night of Trouble, a Night of Darkness: though I come trembling and staggering in this Night, yet I shall be sure to find Comfort and Fixedness in him. And the Lord of Heaven be the Strength, Stay, and Support of your Soul, and the Lord furnish you with all those Graces which may carry you into the Bosom of the Lord Jesus; that when you expire this Life, you may be able to expire it into him, in whom you may begin to live to all Eternity. And that is my humble Prayer.

Holland. Mr. Bolton, God hath given me long Time in this World; he hath carried me through many great Accidents of Fortune; he hath at last brought me down into a Condition, where I find myself brought to an End for a Disaffection to this State, to this Parliament, that (as I said before) I did believe no body in the World more unlikely to have expected to suffer for that Cause; I look upon it as a great Judgment for my Sins. And truly, Sir, since that Death is violent, I am

the less troubled with it, because of those violent Deaths that I have seen before ; principally my Saviour, that hath shewed us the Way how, and in what Manner he hath done it, and for what Cause, I am the more comforted, I am the more rejoiced. It is not long since the King my Master passed in the same Manner ; and truly I hope that his Purposes and Intentions were such as a Man may not be ashamed, not only to follow him in the Way that was taken with him, but likewise not ashamed of his Purposes, if God had given him Life. I have often disputed with him concerning many Things of this kind, and I conceive his Sufferings, and his better Knowledge, and better Understanding, (if God had spared his Life) might have made him a Prince very happy towards himself, and very happy towards this Kingdom. I have seen and known, that those blessed Souls in Heaven have passed thither by the Gate of Sorrow, and many by the Gate of Violence ; and since it is God's Pleasure to dispose me this Way, I submit my Soul to him, with all Comfort, and with all Hope, that he hath made this my End, and this my Conclusion, that though I be low in Death, yet nevertheless this Lowness shall raise me to the highest Glory for ever.

Truly I have not said much in publick to the People, concerning the particular Actions which I conceive I have done by my Counsels in this Kingdom ; I conceive they are well known ; it were something of Vanity, methinks, to take notice of them here ; I'll rather die with them, with the Comfort of them in my Bosom, and that I never intended in this Action, or any Action that ever I did in my Life, either Malice, or Bloodshed, or Prejudice to any Creature that lives. For that which concerns my Religion, I made my Profession before of it, how I was bred, and

and in what Manner I was bred, in a Family that was look'd upon to be not a little notorious in Opposition to some Liberties they had conceived then to be taken ; and truly there was some Mark upon me, as if I had some Taint of it, even throughout my whole Ways that I have taken ; every body knows what my Affections have been to many that have suffered, to many that have been in Troubles in this Kingdom ; I endeavour'd to relieve them, I endeavour'd to oblige them, I thought I was tied so by my Conscience, I thought it by my Charity, and truly very much by my Breeding : God hath now brought me to the last Instant of my Time ; all that I can say, is this, That as I am a great Sinner, so I have a great Saviour ; that as he hath given me here a Fortune to come publickly, in a Shew of Shame, in the way of this Suffering, (truly I understand it not to be so) I understand it to be a Glory ; a Glory, when I consider who hath gone before me ; and a Glory, when I consider I had no End in it, but what I conceive to be the Service of God, the King, and the Kingdom ; and therefore my Heart is not charged much with any thing in that Particular, since I conceive God will accept of the Intention, whatsoever the Action seems to be. I am going to die, and the Lord receive my Soul ; I have no Reliance but upon Christ : for myself, I do acknowledge that I am the unworthiest of Sinners ; my Life hath been a Vanity, and a continued Sin, and God may justly bring me to this End, for the Sins I have committed against him : and were there nothing else but the Iniquities that I have committed in the Way of my Life, I look upon this as a great Justice of God, to bring me to this Suffering, and to bring me to this Punishment : and those Hands that have been most active in it, if any such there have been, I pray God forgive

them ; I pray God, that there may not be many such Trophies of their Victories, but that this may be (as I said before) the last Shew, that this People shall see, of the Blood of Persons of Condition, of Persons of Honour. I might say something of the Way of our Tryal, which certainly hath been as extraordinary, as any thing, I think, hath ever been seen in this Kingdom : but because that I would not seem as if I made some Complaint, I will not so much as mention it, because no body shall believe I repine at their Actions, that I repine at my Fortune : It is the Will of God ; it is the Hand of God, under whom I fall ; I take it intirely from him, I submit myself to him, I shall desire to roll myself into the Arms of my blessed Saviour : And

* *Pointing to
the Block.*

when I come to this * Place ; when I bow down myself there, I hope God will raise me up ; and when I bid Farewel, as I must now, to Hope, and to Faith, that Love will abide. I know nothing to accompany the Soul out of this World, but Love ; and I hope that Love will bring me to the Fountain of Glory in Heaven, through the Arms, Mediation, and the Mercy of my Saviour *Jesus Christ*, in whom I believe ; O Lord, help my Unbelief.

Hodges. The Lord make over unto you the Righteousness of his own Son, it is that Treasury that he hath bestowed upon you ; and the Lord shew you the Light of his Countenance, and fill you full with his Joy and Kindness. O my dear Lord, the Lord of Heaven and Earth be with you, and the Lord of Heaven and Earth bring you to that Safety.

Holland. I shall make as much Haste as I can to come to that Glory, and the Lord of Heaven and Earth take my Soul ; I look upon myself
intirely

intirely in him, and hope to find Mercy through him ; I expect it ; and through that Fountain that is opened for Sin, and for Uncleanness, my Soul must receive it : for did I rest in any thing else, I have nothing but Sin and Corruption in me ; I have nothing but that, which, instead of being carried up into the Arms of God, and of Glory, I have nothing but may throw me down into Hell.

Bolton. But, my Lord, when you are cloathed with the Righteousness of another, you will appear glorious, though now sinful in yourself : The Apostle saith, *I desire not to be found in my own righteousness* ; and when you are cloathed with another's, the Lord will own you ; and I shall say but thus much : Doubt not that ever God will deny Salvation to Sinners that come to him, when the End of all his Death and Sufferings was the Salvation of Sinners ; when, as I say, the whole End, and the whole Design, and the great Work that God had to do in the World, by the Death of Christ, wherein he laid out all his Counsels, and infinite Wisdom, and Mercy, and Goodness, beyond which there was a *Non ultra* in God's Thoughts ; when this was the great Design, and great End, the Salvation of poor Sinners, that poor Souls should come over to him, and live : Certainly, when Sinners come, he will not reject, he will not refuse. And, *my Lord*, do but think of this, the greatest Work that ever was done in the World, was the Blood of Christ that was shed, never any thing like it : And this Blood of Christ that was shed, was shed for them that come ; if not for them, for none, it was in vain else : You see the Devils, they are out of Capacity of Good by it ; the Angels, they have no need of it ; wicked Men will not come ; and there are but a few that come over ; and should he

he deny them, there were no End nor Fruit of the Blood and Sufferings of the Lord Jesus: And had your Lordship been with Christ in that bloody Agony, when he was in that bloody Sweat, sweating Drops of Blood; if you had asked him, Lord, What art thou now doing? Art thou not now reconciling an angry God and me together? Art thou not pacifying the Wrath of God? Art thou not interposing thyself between the Justice of God and my Soul? Would he not have said, Yea? And surely then he will not deny it now. My Lord, his Passions are over, his Compassions still remain, and the larger and greater, because he is gone up into an higher Place, that he may throw down more Abundance of his Mercy and Grace upon you; and, *my Lord*, think of that infinite Love, that Abundance of Riches in Christ: I am lost, I am empty, I have nothing, I am poor, I am sinful; be it so, as bad as God will make me, and as vile as I possibly can conceive myself, I am willing to be; but when I have said all, the more I advance those Riches, and honour that Grace of God. And why should I doubt, when by this he puts me into a Capacity, into a Disposition for him to shew me Mercy, that by this I may the better advance the Riches of his Grace, and say, Grace, Grace to the Lord to all Eternity, that God should own such a Creature that deserves nothing? and the less I deserve, the more conspicuous is his Grace: And this is certain, the Riches of his Grace he throweth amongst Men, that the Glory of his Grace might be given to himself; if we can give him but the Glory of his Grace, we shall never doubt to partake of the Riches of it; and that Fulness, *my Lord*, that Fulness be your Comfort, that Fulness of Mercy, that Fulness of Love, that Fulness of Righteousness and Power be now your Riches, and your
on'y

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only Stay; and the Lord interpose himself between God and you, as your Faith hath endeavour'd to interpose him between God and your Soul; so I doubt not there he stands (*my Lord*) to plead for you; and when you are not able to do any thing yourself, yet lie down at the Feet of him that is a merciful Saviour, and knows what you would desire, and wait upon him while you live, and trust in him when you die; there are Riches enough, and Mercy enough: if he open not, yet die at his Door; say, There I'll die, there is Mercy enough.

Holland. And here is the Place where I lie down before him, from whence I hope he will raise me to an eternal Glory through my Saviour, upon whom I rely, from whom only I expect Mercy; into his Arms I commend my Spirit, into his bleeding Arms, that when I leave this bleeding Body, that must lie upon this Place, he will receive that Soul that ariseth out of it, and receive it into his eternal Mercy, through the Merits, through the Worthiness, through the Mediation of Christ that hath purchased it with his own most precious Blood.

Bolton. *My Lord*, though you conclude here, I hope you begin above; and though you put an End here, I hope there will never be an End of the Mercy and Goodness of God: And if this be the Morning of Eternity, if this be the Rise of Glory, if God pleaseth to throw you down here, to raise you up for ever, say, Welcome Lord, welcome that Death that shall make way for Life; and welcome any Condition that shall throw me down here, to bring me into the Possession of Jesus Christ.

Hodges. *My Lord*, if you have made a Deed of Gift of yourself to Jesus Christ, to be found only in him; I am confident you shall stand at
the

124 *The Earl of Holland's*

the Day of Christ; my dear *Lord*, we shall meet in Happiness.

Holland. Christ Jesus receive my Soul; my Soul hungers and thirsts after him; Clouds are gathering; and I trust in God through all my Heavens, and I hope through all Impediments, he will settle my Interest in him, and throw off all the Claim that Satan can make unto it, and that he will carry my Soul, in despite of all the Calumnies, and all that the Devil and Satan can invent, will carry it into eternal Mercy, there to receive the Blessedness of his Presence to all Eternity.

Hodges. My *Lord*, it was his own by Creation; it is his own now by Redemption and Purchase; and it is likewise his own by Resignation: O my *Lord*, look therefore up to the *Lamb of God* that sits at the Right Hand of God to take away the Sins of the World; O that *Lamb of God*!

Holland. That *Lamb of God*, into his Hands I commit my Soul; and that *Lamb of God*, that sits upon the Throne to judge those Twenty-four that fall down before him, I hope he will be pleased to look downward, and judge me with Mercy that fall down before him, and that adore him, that only trust upon his Mercy, for his Compassion; and that as he hath purchased me, he would lay his Claim unto me now, and receive me.

Bolton. My *Lord*, think of this, *There is no Condemnation to them who are in Christ; who is it that can condemn? It is Christ that justifies: And therefore look now upon this, (my Lord) upon this Christ, upon this Christ that justifies. Hell, Death, Sin, Satan, nothing shall be able to condemn; it is Christ that justifies you.*

Holland. Indeed, if Christ justify, no body can condemn, and I trust in God, in his Justification; though there is a Confusion here without us, and
though

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though there are Wonders and Staring that now disquiet, yet I trust that I shall be carried into that Mercy, that God will receive my Soul.

Bolton. I doubt not, *my Lord*, but as you are a Spectacle of Pity here, so you are an Object of God's Mercy above.

Then the Earl looking over among the People, pointing to a Soldier, said, *This honest Man took me a Prisoner ; you little thought I should have been brought to this, when I deliver'd myself to you upon Conditions : And espying Captain Watson on Horseback, putting off his Hat, said to him, God be with you, Sir ; God reward you, Sir.*

Bolton. *My Lord*, throw yourself into the Arms of Mercy, and say, There I will anchor, and there I will die ; he is a Saviour for us in all Conditions ; whither should we go ? He hath the Words of Eternal Life ; and upon him do you rest, wait while you live, and even trust in Death.

Holland. Here must now be my Anchor, a great Storm makes me find my Anchor, and, but in Storms, no body trusts to his Anchor ; and therefore I must trust upon my Anchor, (*Upon that God, said Mr. Bolton, upon whom your Anchor trusts*) yea, God I hope, will anchor my Soul fast upon Christ Jesus ; and if I die not with that Clearness, and that Heartiness that you speak of, truly I will trust in God ; though he kill me, I will rely upon him, and in the Mercy of my Saviour.

Bolton. There is Mercy enough, *my Lord*, and to spare, you shall not need to doubt ; they shall never go begging to another Door (*my Lord*) that come to him.

Then

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Then the Earl of Holland, speaking to Mr. Hodges, said, *I pray God reward you for all your Kindness, and pray, as you have done, instruct my Family, that they may serve God with Faithfulness and Holiness, with more Diligence than truly I have been careful to press them unto: You have the Charge of the same Place, you may do much for them, and I recommend them to your Kindness, and the Goodness of your Conscience.*

Dr. Sibbald, standing upon the Scaffold, in his Passage to Col. Beecher, expressed himself thus to his Lordship:

Dr. Sibbald. *The Lord lift up the Light of his Countenance upon you, and you shall be safe.*

Then the Earl of Holland embraced Lieutenant-Colonel Beecher, and took his Leave of him: After which, he came to Mr. Bolton, and having embraced him, returned him many Thanks for his great Pains and Affections to his Soul, desiring God to reward him, and return his Love into his Bosom. Mr. Bolton said to him, *The Lord God support you, and be seen in this great Extremity; the Lord reveal and discover himself to you, and make your Death the Passage unto Eternal Life—*

Then the Earl of Holland, turning to the Executioner, said, *Here, my Friend, let my Cloaths and my Body alone; there is Ten Pounds for thee, that is better than my Cloaths, I am sure of it.*

Executioner. Will your Lordship please to give me a Sign when I shall strike? And then his Lordship

The Earl of Holland's Death. 127

ship said, You have room enough here, have you not? And the Executioner said, Yes.

Bolton. The Lord be your Strength, there is Riches in him; the Lord of Heaven impart himself to you, he is able to save to the uttermost: We cannot fall so low as to fall below the everlasting Arms of God; and therefore the Lord be a Support and Stay to you in your low Condition, that he will be pleased to make this an Advantage to that Life and Glory that will make amends for all.

Then the Earl of *Holland* turning to the Executioner, said, *Friend, do you hear me? if you take up my Head, do not take off my Cap.* Then turning to his Servants, he said to one, *Fare you well, thou art an honest Fellow;* and to another, *God be with thee, thou art an honest Man;* and then said, *Stay, I will kneel down, and ask God Forgiveness:* and then prayed for a pretty Space with seeming Earnestness.

Bolton. The Lord grant you may find Life in Death.

Holland. Which is the Way of Lying? (which they shewed him) And then going to the Front of the Scaffold, he said to the People, *God bless you all, and God deliver you from any such Accidents as may bring you to any such Death as is violent, either by War, or by these Accidents; but that there may be Peace among you, and you may find that these Accidents that have happened to us, may be the last that may happen in this Kingdom: It is That I desire, it is That I beg of God, next the saving of my Soul: I pray God give all Happiness to this Kingdom, to this People, and this Nation.* And then turning to the Executioner, said, *How must I lie? I know not.*

Execu-

128 *The Lord Capel's Behaviour.*

Executioner. Lie down flat upon your Belly. And then having laid himself down, he said, Must I lie closer?

Executioner. Yes, and backwarder.

Holland. I will tell you when you shall strike; and then as he lay, seemed to pray with much Affection for a short Space; and then lifting up his Head, said, *Where is the Man?* And seeing the Executioner by him, he said, *Stay while I give the Sign;* and presently after stretching out his Hand, and the Executioner being not fully ready, he said, *Now, now;* and just as the Words were coming out of his Mouth, the Executioner at one Blow severed his Head from his Body.

Arthur Lord Capel's Behaviour and Last Dying Speech on the Scaffold, immediately before his Death, March 9. 1649.

THE Execution of the Earl of *Holland* being thus performed, the Lord *Capel* was brought to the Scaffold as the former; and in the Way to the Scaffold, he put off his Hat to the People on both Sides, looking very austerely about him: And being come upon the Scaffold, Lieutenant-Col. *Beecher* said to him, Is your Chaplain here?

Capel. No, I have taken my Leave of him. And perceiving some of his Servants to weep, he said, Gentlemen, refrain yourselves, refrain yourselves. And turning to Col. *Beecher*, he said, What! did the Lords speak with their Hats off, or no?

Col. *Beecher.* With their Hats off. And then coming to the Front of the Scaffold, he said, I shall hardly be understood here, I think; and then began his Speech as followeth.

THE

THE Conclusion that I made with those that sent me hither, and are the Cause of this violent Death of mine, shall be the Beginning of what I shall say to you: When I made an Address to them, (which was the last) I told them with much Sincerity, that I would pray to the God of all Mercies, that they might be Partakers of his inestimable and boundless Mercies in Jesus Christ; and truly I still pray that Prayer; and I beseech the God of Heaven forgive any Injury they have done to me, from my Soul I wish it. And truly, this I tell you as a Christian, to let you see I am a Christian: But it is necessary I should tell you somewhat more, that I am a Protestant; and truly I am a Protestant, and very much in Love with the Profession of it, after the manner as it was established in *England* by the Thirty-nine Articles; a blessed Way of Profession, and such an one as truly I never knew any so good. I am so far from being a Papist, which some body have (truly) very unworthily at some time charged me withal, that truly I profess to you, that though I love good Works, and commend good Works, yet I hold they have nothing at all to do in the Matter of Salvation; my Anchorhold is this, *That Christ loved me, and gave himself for me*: This is that that I rest upon.

And truly something I shall say to you as a Citizen of the whole World, and in that Consideration I am here condemn'd to die, truly contrary to the Law that governs all the World, that is, the Law of the Sword; I had the Protection of that for my Life, and the Honour of it; but truly, I will not trouble you much with that, because in another Place I have spoken very largely and liberally about it. I

130 *The Lord Capel's Speech.*

believe you will hear by other Means what Ar-
 guments I used in that Case: But truly that
 which is stranger, you that are *Englishmen*, be-
 hold here an *Englishman* before you, and ac-
 knowledged a Peer, not condemned to die by
 any Law of *England*, not by any Law of *Eng-
 land*; and, shall I tell you more? (which is
 strangest of all) contrary to all the Laws of
England that I know of. And truly I will tell
 you, in the Matter of the Civil Part of my
 Death, and the Cause that I have maintain'd, I
 die (I take it) for maintaining the Fifth Com-
 mandment, enjoined by God himself, which en-
 joins Reverence and Obedience to Parents. All
 Divines on all Hands, though they contradict
 one another in many several Opinions, yet all
 Divines on all Hands do acknowledge, that here
 is intended Magistracy and Order; and certainly
 I have obey'd that Magistracy and that Order
 under which I have lived, which I was bound
 to obey; and truly, I can say it very confi-
 dently, that I do die here for keeping, for
 obeying that Fifth Commandment given by
 God himself, and written with his own Finger.
 And now, Gentlemen, I will take this Oppor-
 tunity to tell you, That I cannot imitate a bet-
 ter, nor a greater Ingenuity than his, that said
 of himself, *For suffering an unjust Judgment upon
 another, himself was brought to suffer by an unjust
 Judgment.* Truly, Gentlemen, that God may
 be glorified, that all Men that are concern'd in
 it may take the Occasion of it, of humble Re-
 pentance to God Almighty for it; I do here
 profess to you, that I did give my Vote to that
 Bill against the Earl of *Strafford*; I doubt not
 but God Almighty hath washed that away with
 a more precious Blood, the Blood of his own
 Son, and my dear Saviour Jesus Christ; and I
 hope

The Lord Capel's Speech. 131

hope he will wash it away from all those that are
 guilty of it: Truly, this I may say, I had not
 the least Part nor Degree of Malice in doing of
 it; but I must confess again to God's Glory,
 and the Accufation of mine own Frailty, and
 the Frailty of my Nature, that truly it was un-
 worthy Cowardice, not to resist so great a Tor-
 rent as carried that Business at that Time. And
 truly, this, I think, I am most guilty of, of not
 Courage enough in it, but Malice I had none; but
 whatsoever it was, GOD, I am sure, hath pardon'd
 it, hath given me the Assurance of it, that Christ
 Jesus his Blood hath washed it away; and truly, I
 do from my Soul wish, that all Men that have any
 Stain by it, may seriously repent, and receive a
 Remission and Pardon from God for it. And
 now, Gentlemen, we have an Occasion from
 this Intimation to remember his Majesty our
 King that last was; and I cannot speak of him,
 nor think of it, but truly I must needs say, that
 in my Opinion, who have had Time to con-
 sider all the Images of the greatest and virtu-
 ousest Princes in the World; and truly, in my
 Opinion, there was not a more virtuous and
 more sufficient Prince known in the World,
 than our gracious King CHARLES that died
 last: God Almighty preserve our King that
 now is, his Son; God send him more Fortune,
 and longer Days; God Almighty so assist him,
 that he may exceed both the Virtues and Suffi-
 ciencies of his Father: For certainly, I, that
 have been a Counsellor to him, and have lived
 long with him, and in a Time when Discovery
 is easily enough made, for he was young, (he
 was about thirteen, fourteen, fifteen or sixteen
 Years of Age) those Years I was with him;
 truly, I never saw greater Hopes of Virtue in
 any young Person than in him; great Judg-

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' ment, great Understanding, great Apprehen-
 ' sion, much Honour in his Nature, and truly a
 ' very perfect *Englishman* in his Inclination; and
 ' I pray God restore him to this Kingdom, and
 ' unite the Kingdoms one to another, and send a
 ' great Happiness both to you and to him, that
 ' he may long live and reign among you, and
 ' that That Family may reign till thy Kingdom
 ' come, that is, while all Temporal Power is
 ' consummated: I beseech God of his Mercy
 ' give much Happiness to this your King, to you
 ' that shall be his faithful Subjects, by the Grace
 ' of Jesus Christ.

' Truly I like my Beginning so well, that I
 ' will make my Conclusion with it; that is, That
 ' God Almighty would confer, of his infinite
 ' and inestimable Grace and Mercy, to those that
 ' are the Cause of my coming hither, I pray God
 ' give them as much Mercy as their Hearts can
 ' wish; and truly, for my Part, I will not ac-
 ' cuse any one of them of Malice, truly I will
 ' not, nay, I will not think there was any Malice
 ' in them: What other End there is, I know not,
 ' nor will I examine; but let it be what it will,
 ' from my very Soul I forgive them every one.
 ' And so the Lord of Heaven bless you all, God
 ' Almighty be infinite in Goodness and Mercy to
 ' you, and direct you in those Ways of Obedi-
 ' ence to his Commands, to his Majesty, that
 ' this Kingdom may be an happy and glorious
 ' Nation again, and that your King may be an
 ' happy King in so good and so obedient People;
 ' God Almighty keep you all; God Almighty
 ' preserve this Kingdom; God Almighty pre-
 ' serve you all.'

Then turning about, and looking for the Exe-
 cutioner, (who was gone off the Scaffold) he said,
 ' Which is the Gentleman? Which is the Man? '

Answer

The Lord Capel's Death. 133

Answer was made, He is coming : He then said,
‘ Stay, I must pull off my Doublet first, and my
‘ Waistcoat : ’ And then the Executioner being
come upon the Scaffold, the Lord *Capel* said, ‘ O
‘ Friend, prithee come hither. ’ Then the Executioner kneeling down, the Lord *Capel* said, ‘ I
‘ forgive thee from my Soul, and not only forgive thee,
‘ but I shall pray to God to give thee
‘ all Grace for a better Life : There is Five
‘ Pounds for thee ; and truly, for my Cloaths,
‘ and those things, if there be any thing due to
‘ you for it, you shall be fully recompensed ; but
‘ I desire my Body may not be stripped here, and
‘ no body to take notice of my Body but my
‘ own Servants. Look you, Friend, this I shall
‘ desire of you, that when I lie down, you would
‘ give me Time for a particular short Prayer. ’

L. Col. Beecher. Make your own Sign, my Lord.
Capel. ‘ Stay a little : Which Side do you
‘ stand upon ? ’ (speaking to the Executioner)
‘ Stay, I think I should lay my Hands forward
‘ that way (*pointing fore-right*) ; ’ and Answer being made, Yes ; he stood still a little while, and then said, ‘ God Almighty blefs all this People ;
‘ God Almighty stanch this Blood ; God Almighty stanch, stanch, stanch this Issue of
‘ Blood : This will not do the Business ; God
‘ Almighty find out another Way to do it. ’ And then turning to one of his Servants, he said,
‘ *Baldwin*, I cannot see any Thing that belongs
‘ to my Wife ; but I must desire thee and beseech her, to rest wholly upon Jesus Christ, to
‘ be contented, and fully satisfied. ’ And then speaking to his Servants, he said, ‘ God keep
‘ you ; and, Gentlemen, let me now do a Business
‘ quickly, privately ; and pray let me have your
‘ Prayers at the Moment of Death, that God
‘ would receive my Soul. ’

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Lieu. Col. Beecher. I wish it.

Capel. ' Pray, at the Moment of Striking, join
' your Prayers, but make no Noise (*turning to his*
Servants); it is inconvenient at this Time. '

Servant. My Lord, put on your Cap.

Capel. ' Should I, what will that do me good?
' Stay a little, it is well as it is now. ' (*As he*
was putting up his Hair)

And then turning to the Executioner, he said,
' Honest Man, I have forgiven thee, therefore
' strike boldly, from my Soul I do it. '

Then a Gentleman speaking to him, he said,
' Nay, prithee be contented, be quiet, good
' Mr.— be quiet. '

Then turning to the Executioner, he said,
' Well, you are ready when I am ready, are you
' not? ' And stretching out his Hands, he said,
' Then pray stand off, Gentlemen. ' Then go-
ing to the Front of the Scaffold, he said to the
People, ' Gentlemen, though I doubt not of it,
' yet I think it convenient to ask it of you, That
' you would all join in Prayers with me, that
' God would mercifully receive my Soul, and that
' for his alone Mercies in Christ Jesus. God Al-
' mighty keep you all. '

Execut. My Lord, shall I put up your Hair?

Capel. ' Ay, ay, prithee do; ' and then as
he stood lifting up his Hands and Eyes, he said,
' O God, I do with a perfect and a willing Heart
' submit to thy Will: O God, I do most willing-
' ly humble myself. ' And then kneeling down,
said, ' I will try first how I can lie; ' and laying his
Head over the Block, said, ' Am I well now? '

Execut. Yes.

And then, as he lay with both his Hands stretched
out, he said to the Executioner, ' Here lie both
' my Hands out; when I lift up my Hands thus,
' (*lifting up his right Hand*) then you may strike. '

And

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And then, after he had said a short Prayer, he lifted up his right Hand, and the Executioner at one Blow severed his Head from his Body, which was taken up by his Servants, and put, with his Body, into a Coffin, as the former.

The Behaviour and last dying Speech of Colonel John Morrice, Governor of Pontefract Castle, at the Place of Execution at York, August 23, 1649.

THIS Gentleman, in his younger Years, had, in the Beginning of the War, been an Officer in some Regiments of the King's; but out of the Folly and Impatience of Youth, had quitted that, and engag'd in the Parliament Service. He was a Gentleman of a very competent Estate in *Yorkshire*, and as he advanced in Years, heartily detested himself for abandoning the King's Interest, and put on a Resolution for the future, to take some seasonable Opportunity to wipe off that Blemish, by a Service that would redeem him: He now liv'd retir'd as a Country Gentleman, and convers'd with equal Freedom with all his Neighbours, and renew'd Acquaintance with some of those Gentlemen who had serv'd the King: But no Friendship was so dear to him as that of the Governor of *Pontefract Castle*, who mightily delighted in his Company; which gave *Morrice* an Opportunity of putting his Designs in Execution, some of which fail'd; till he and some others surpriz'd the Castle, under the Disguise of Countrymen coming in with Carts of Provision, and presently seiz'd on and master'd the Main Guard, and made Way for their Friends, Horse and Foot, to enter. They continued Masters of it till near the End of the Year 1648, when *Lam-*

136 *Col. Morrice's Behaviour.*

bert came, and in a short Time reduced them within their own Circuit, that they were at last obliged to surrender; which however they would not do without honourable Terms. Before they delivered themselves into the Hands of the Enemy, Col. *Morrice*, and three others out of six whom they had resolved to sacrifice, had made their Escape: but not long after the Colonel was taken in *Lancashire*, and, after two and twenty Weeks Imprisonment, sentenc'd at *York*, where he convinc'd them, that it was against the Law of Arms, that a Soldier should be tried by a Jury, and against all the Laws of the Land, that a Subject should die for acting according to an acknowledged Sovereign's Commission: but however, as they had resolved to take away his Life, he spent the Remainder of his Time in Preparation for it.

When he was brought out of Prison, looking upon the Sledge that was set for him, lifting up his Eyes to Heaven, and knocking upon his Breast, he said, 'I am as willing to go to my Death, as to put off my Doublet to go to Bed; I despise the Shame as well as the Cross; I know I am going to a joyful Place:' with many the like Expressions.

When the Post met him about *St. James's Church*, that was sent to the Parliament to mediate for a Reprieve, and told him, he could not prevail in it; he said, 'Sir, I pray God reward you for your Pains; I hope, and am well assured, to find a better Pardon than any they can give: my Hope is not in Man, but in the living God.' And when he had arrived at the Place of Execution, he made the following Profession of himself:

Gentle-

Gentlemen,

First, I was bred in the true Protestant Religion, having my Education and Breeding from that honoured House of my dear Lord and Master, the Earl of *Strafford*; which Place, I dare boldly say, was as well governed and ruled as ever any yet was before it; I much doubt, better than any will be after it, unless it please God to put a Period to these distracted Times. This Faith and Religion, I say, I have been bred in, and, I thank God, I have hitherto lived in, without the least wavering, and now I am resolved, by God's Assistance, to die in.

Those Pains are nothing, if compared to those Dolours and Pains which Jesus Christ our Saviour hath suffered for us, when in a bloody Sweat he endured the Wrath of God, the Pain of Hell, and the cursed and shameful Death which was due to our Sins: Therefore I praise the Lord that I am not plagued with far more grievous Punishment; that the like hath befallen others, who undoubtedly are most glorious and blessed Saints with Christ in Heaven. It is the Lord's Affliction: And who would not take any Affliction in good Part, when it comes from the Hand of God? And what, shall we receive Good from the Hand of God, and not receive Evil? And though I desire, as I am carnal, that this Cup may part from me, yet not my Will, but thy Will be done. Death brings unto the Godly an End of Sinning, and of all Miseries due unto Sin: so that after Death there shall be no more Sorrow, nor Cry, nor Pain; for God shall wipe away all Tears from our Eyes: by Death our Souls shall be delivered from Thraldom,

dom, and *this corruptible Body shall put on incorruption, and this mortal immortality.*

Therefore, Blessed are they that are delivered out of so vile a World, and freed from such a Body of Bondage and Corruption; the Soul shall enjoy immediate Communion with God in everlasting Bliss and Glory; it takes us from the Miseries of this World, and Society of Sinners, to the City of the living God, the celestial *Jerusalem.*

I bless God, I am thought worthy to suffer for his Name, and for so good a Cause; and if I had a thousand Lives, I would willingly lay them down for the Cause of my King, the Lord's Anointed: The Scripture commands us to *fear God, and honour the king; to be subject to every ordinance of man for the Lord's sake, whether to the king as supreme, or to those that are in authority under him.* I have been always faithful to my Trust; and though I have been most basely accused for betraying *Liverpool*, yet I take God to witness, it is a most false Aspersion, for I was then sick in my Bed, and knew not of the delivering of it, 'till the Officers and Soldiers had done it without my Consent, and then I was carry'd Prisoner to Sir *John Meldrum*: Afterwards I came down into the Country; and seeing I could not live quietly at Home, I was persuaded by Col. *Forbes*, Col. *Overton*, Lieut. Col. *Fairfax*, whom I took for my good Friends, to march in their Troops; which I did, but with Intention still to do my King the best Service, when Occasion was, and so I did; and I pray God to turn the Hearts of all the Soldiers to their lawful Sovereign, that this Land may enjoy Peace, which 'till then it will never do; and though thou kill me, yet will I put my
Trust

‘ Trust in thee ; wherefore I trust in God he will
 ‘ not fail me, nor forsake me. ’

Then he took his Bible, and read divers Psalms, fit for his own Occasion and Consolation, and then put up divers Prayers, some publickly, and some privately ; the publick was this which follows :

*W*elcome, blessed Hour, the Period of my Pilgrimage, the Term of my Bondage, the End of my Cares, the Close of my Sins, the Bound of my Travels, the Goal of my Race, and the Haven of my Hopes ; I have fought a long Fight in much Weakness ; I have finished my Course, though in great Faintness ; and the Crown of my Joy is, that, through the Strength of thy Grace, I have both kept the true Faith, and have fought for my King, the Lord's Anointed's Cause, without any wavering ; for which and in which I die : I do willingly resign my Flesh ; I despise the World, and I defy the Devil, who hath no Part nor Share in me. And now, what is my Hope ? My Hope, Lord Jesus, is even in thee ; for I know that thou my Redeemer livest, and that thou wilt immediately receive my Soul, and raise up my Body also at the Last Day ; and I shall see thee in my Flesh with these Eyes, and none other. And now, O Lord, let thy Spirit of Comfort help mine Infirmities, and make Supplication for me with Sighs and Groans that cannot be expressed : I submit myself wholly to thy Will ; I commit my Soul to thee as my faithful Redeemer, who hast bought it with thy most precious Blood. I confess to all the World, I know no Name under Heaven by which I may be saved, but thine, my Jesu, my Saviour : I renounce all Confidence in any Merits, save thine : I thankfully acknowledge all thy Blessings, I unfeignedly bewail all my Sins, I stedfastly believe all thy Promises, I heartily forgive all my Enemies, I willingly leave all my Friends, I utterly loath all
 earthly

140 Cornet Blackburne's Speech.

earthly Comforts, and I intirely long for thy Coming : Come, Lord Jesus, come quickly ; Lord Jesus, receive my Spirit.

The private were to himself, his Hat being over his Eyes. After this he put up divers short Ejaculations ; as, *I know my Redeemer liveth. Father, into thy hands I commend my spirit ; for thou hast redeemed it, O God, thou God of truth. Lord Jesus, receive my spirit ; and many the like ; and so he yielded to Death.*

The Speech of Cornet Michael Blackburne, immediately before his Death, Aug. 23. 1647, who was executed the same Day at York.

THIS loyal Sufferer, who was eminently famous for his honest Endeavours for the Service of his Sovereign, and one of those brave Persons who so gallantly defended the Castle of *Pontefract* against the Rebels, was by them likewise made a Prisoner, and underwent the same Fate with the former on the same Day, and at the same Place, where he gave this short Account of himself to the People, as follows :

‘ **A**S it is generally expected from Persons in
 ‘ my Circumstances to say something ; so I
 ‘ shall so far comply with that Custom, as not to
 ‘ detain you long, nor give myself such Trouble
 ‘ in it. I am not a Gentleman by Birth, but my
 ‘ Parents are of an honest Quality and Condition.
 ‘ I was brought up in the Protestant Religion,
 ‘ and in that Religion I have lived, and in that
 ‘ I now die. I have some five or six Years since
 ‘ engaged in this War, wherein I had no other
 ‘ End

‘ End or Intention but to do my King true and
‘ faithful Service, according to my Duty, and
‘ the Dictate of my Conscience. I have not done
‘ so much Service as I desired, but I have been
‘ always faithful to him, and wish I could have
‘ done him more : And for his Son, the King
‘ that now is, I wonder any Man of this Kingdom
‘ should have the Boldness or Impudence to lift
‘ up his Hand against him, to keep him from his
‘ Crown, whereof he is Heir Apparent, and hath
‘ as good Right and Title to it by his Birth-right,
‘ as any Man living hath of his Inheritance or
‘ Possession : *I pray God blefs him, forgive all my*
‘ *Enemies, and Lord Jesus receive my Spirit.*’

*A perfect Relation of the Death and Sufferings of the
most loyal and valiant Marquis of Montrose, Ge-
neral of his Majesty's Forces in the Kingdom of Scot-
land, who was inhumanly executed at Edinburgh
the 21st of May 1650 ; with the true Copy of his
Speech immediately before his Execution.*

THE Parliament of Scotland being informed
that the Marquis of Montrose was taken, and
foreseeing that his Countenance and Carriage might
gain him some Favour amongst the People, thought
fit to give out their Sentence against him before
he should come to *Edinburgh* : and therefore, upon
the 17th of May, Anno 1650, in the Morning,
they appointed a Committee to prepare and give
in their Opinions what was the fittest to be done
with him ; where, the same Forenoon, they gave
in their Report in Writing, to this Effect ; ‘ That
‘ as soon as he should come to the Town, he
‘ should be met at the Gate by the Magistrates
‘ and

' and Hangman : That he should be tied with
 ' Cords upon a Cart, bare-headed, and the Hang-
 ' man to ride upon the Horse that drew the Cart,
 ' covered, before him, and so be brought through
 ' the Town : That he should be hanged on a
 ' Gibbet thirty Foot high at the Cross of *Edin-*
 ' *burgh* until he died, his History and Declara-
 ' tion hanging about his Neck ; and so hang
 ' three Hours in publick View of all the People ;
 ' after which, he should be beheaded and quar-
 ' tered, his Head to be fixed upon the Prison-
 ' house of *Edinburgh*, and his Legs and Arms over
 ' the Gates of the Cities of *Sterling*, *Glasgow*, *Pertb*
 ' alias *St. John's-Town*, and *Aberdeen* : And, in
 ' case he repented, (whereby the Sentence of
 ' Excommunication might be taken off by the
 ' Church) the Bulk of his Body should be bury'd
 ' in the *Grey Friars* ; if not, to be bury'd in the
 ' *Borrow-moor*. '

Upon the 18th Day, about four o' Clock in the
 Afternoon, he was brought in at the *Water-gate*,
 and, according to the Sentence, was met by the
 Magistrates, the Guards, and the Hangman of
 the City ; the rest of the Prisoners being ty'd two
 and two together, going bare-headed before him.
 So soon as he came within the Gate, the Magistrates
 shewed him the Sentence ; which when he had
 read, and perceived the Cart and the Hangman
 there ready, he said, *He would willingly obey ; he*
was only sorry that, through him, his Majesty, whose
Person he represented, should be so dishonoured. Then
 going chearfully into the Cart, he being unco-
 vered, was by the Hangman ty'd thereunto with
 Ropes, and the Hangman on the Horse rid
 covered : Thus was he carry'd to the Prison, and
 in all the Way there appeared in him such a Ma-
 jesty, Courage, and Modesty, no way daunted,
 that

that his very Enemies, nay, common Women, who, as it was believed by divers, would have stoned him in the Cart as he passed, were, upon the Sight of him, so astonish'd and moved, that their intended Curses were turned into Tears and Prayers for him; insomuch as the next Day (being *Sunday*) the Ministers preached against them for not reviling and stoning him as he passed along.

When he was taken from the Cart, he gave the Hangman Gold, telling him, *That was a Reward for driving the Cart.* It was seven o'Clock at Night before he was enter'd into the Prison, and immediately the Parliament met, and sent some of their Members, and some Ministers, to examine him; but he refused to answer any thing unto them, until he was satisfi'd upon what Terms they stood with the King his Royal Master: which being reported unto the Parliament, they ceased proceeding against him 'till *Monday*, and allowed their Commissioners to tell him, that the King and they were agreed: He desired to be at Rest, for he was weary with a long Journey; and said, *The Compliment they had put upon him that Day was somewhat tedious.*

The next Day (being *Sunday*) he was constantly attended by Ministers and Parliament-men, who still pursued him with Threatnings; but they got no Advantage of him: He told them, ' They
' thought they had affronted him the Day before,
' by carrying him in a Cart, but they were much
' mistaken; for he thought it the most honour-
' able and joyfullest Journey that ever he made,
' God having all the while most comfortably
' manifested his Presence to him, and furnished
' him with Resolution to over-look the Reproaches
' of Men, and to behold him for whose Cause he
' suffered.'

Upon

Upon *Monday* in the Forenoon, he was brought before the Parliament; and after the Delivery of a long Discourse by the Chancellor, wherein he was pleased to take notice of *his Miscarriages against the first Covenant, the League and Covenant, his Invasion, and joining with the Irish Rebels, and Blood-guiltiness; and that now, how God had brought him to just Punishment*; he desired to know, if he might be allowed to speak for himself; which being granted, he said, ‘ Since you have declared
 ‘ unto me, that you have agreed with the King,
 ‘ I look upon you, as if his Majesty were sitting
 ‘ amongst you; and in that Relation I appear
 ‘ with this Reverence bare-headed: My Care
 ‘ hath been always to walk as became a good
 ‘ Christian, and a loyal Subject; I engaged in
 ‘ the first Covenant, and was faithful to it, until
 ‘ I perceived some private Persons, under Colour
 ‘ of *Religion*, intended to wring the Authority
 ‘ from the King, and to seize on it for them-
 ‘ selves; and when it was thought fit, for the
 ‘ clearing of honest Men, that a Bond should be
 ‘ subscrib’d, wherein the Security of Religion
 ‘ was sufficiently provided for, I subscrib’d. For
 ‘ the League and Covenant, I thank God, I was
 ‘ never in it, and so could not break it; but
 ‘ how far Religion hath been advanced by it,
 ‘ and the sad Consequences that have followed
 ‘ on it, these poor distressed Kingdoms can wit-
 ‘ ness: For when his late Majesty had by the
 ‘ Blessing of God almost subdued those Enemies
 ‘ that rose against him in *England*, and that a
 ‘ Faction of this Kingdom went in to the Affis-
 ‘ tance of them, His Majesty gave Commission
 ‘ to me to come into this Kingdom, and to
 ‘ make a Diversion of those Forces that were go-
 ‘ ing from hence against him. I acknowledged
 ‘ the Command most just, and I conceiv’d my-
 ‘ self

‘ self bound in Conscience and Duty to obey it.
‘ What my Carriage was in this Country, many
‘ of you may bear Witness; Disorders in any
‘ Army cannot be prevented, but they were no
‘ sooner known, than punished; never was any
‘ Blood spilt but in Battle, and even then many
‘ thousand Lives have I preserv’d; and as I came in
‘ upon His Majesty’s Warrant, so upon His Let-
‘ ters did I lay aside all Interest, and retreated.

‘ And for my coming in at this Time, it was
‘ by His Majesty’s Command, in order to the ac-
‘ celerating of the Treaty betwixt him and you;
‘ His Majesty knowing, that whenever he had
‘ ended with you, I was ready to retire upon his
‘ Call. I may justly say, that never Subject acted
‘ upon more honourable Grounds, nor by a more
‘ lawful Power, than I did in this Service; and
‘ therefore I desire you to lay aside all Prejudice,
‘ and consider me as a Christian in relation to
‘ the Justice of the Quarrel; as a Subject in re-
‘ lation to my Royal Master’s Commands; and
‘ as your Neighbour in relation to the many of
‘ your Lives I have preserv’d in Battle; and be
‘ not too rash, but let me be judged by the Laws
‘ of God, the Laws of Nature and Nations,
‘ and the Laws of this Land; if you do other-
‘ wise, I do here appeal from you, to the righte-
‘ ous Judge of the World, who one Day must
‘ be both your Judge and mine, and who always
‘ gives righteous Judgment.’

This he deliver’d with such Gravity, and with-
out Passion, as was much admired even of his
Enemies. After which the Chancellor command-
ed the Sentence to be read, which he heard with
a settled and unmov’d Countenance; and desiring
to be further heard, was presently stopt by the
Chancellor, who commanded he should be pre-

sently remov'd back again to Prison; whither he was no sooner come, but, that he might not enjoy any Ease or Quiet, during the short Remainder of his Life, their Ministers came presently to insult over him with all the Reproaches imaginable; pronounced his Damnation; and assured him, ' That the Judgment he was the next Day to suffer, was but an easy Prologue to that which he was to undergo afterwards. ' After many such Barbarities, they offer'd to intercede for him to the Kirk upon his Repentance, and to pray with him; but he too well understood the Form of their Common-Prayer, in those Cases, to be only the most virulent and insolent Imprecations upon the Persons of those they prayed against; ' (Lord, ' vouchsafe yet to touch the obdurate Heart of ' this proud incorrigible Sinner, this wicked, perjured, and prophane Person, who refuses to ' hearken to the Voice of thy Kirk, ' and the like charitable Expressions;) and therefore he desir'd them to spare their Pains, and to leave him to his own Devotions. He told them, ' That they ' were a miserable, deluded, and deluding People; ' and would shortly bring that poor Nation under ' the most insupportable Servitude ever People submitted to. ' He told them, ' He was prouder to ' have his Head set upon the Place it was appointed to be, than he could have been to have it said ' that he had his Picture hang in the King's ' Bed-Chamber; That he was so far from being ' troubled, that his four Limbs were to be hang'd ' in four Cities of the Kingdom, that he heartily ' wish'd, that he had Flesh enough to be sent to ' every City in *Christendom*, as a Testimony of the ' Cause for which he suffer'd. ' His Friends were not suffer'd to come near him, but a Guard was always in the Chamber with him, insomuch

as he had neither Time or Place for his private Devotions, but in their Hearing.

The next Day, being the 21st, cloathed in a Scarlet Cloak, richly Laced with Gold Lace, he was brought to the Scaffold: He came along the Streets with so great State, and there appeared in his Countenance so much Beauty, Majesty and Gravity, as amaz'd the Beholders; and many even of his Enemies did acknowledge him to be the gallantest Subject in the World: But because all his Friends and Well-wishers were debarr'd from coming near him, there was a Boy design'd for that Purpose on the Scaffold, who took his last Speech; which was to this Effect:

‘ I Am sorry if this Manner of my End be scandalous to any good Christian. Doth it not often happen to the Righteous according to the Ways of the Wicked, and to the Wicked according to the Ways of the Righteous? Doth not sometimes a just Man perish in his Righteousness, and a wicked Man prosper in his Malice? They who know me, should not disesteem me for this; many greater than I have been dealt with in this kind; yet I must not say, but that all God’s Judgments are just; for my private Sins, I acknowledge this to be just with God, I submit myself to him: But in regard of Man, I may say they are but Instruments, God forgive them, I forgive them; they have oppressed the Poor, and violently perverted Judgment and Justice; but He that is higher than they, will reward them.

‘ What I did in this Kingdom, was in Obedience to the most just Command of my Sovereign, for his Defence in the Day of his Distress, against those that rose up against him. I

' acknowledge nothing, but fear God, and ho-
 ' nour the King, according to the Command-
 ' ments of God, and the Law of Nature and
 ' Nations; and I have not sinned against Man,
 ' but against God, and with him there is Mercy,
 ' which is the Ground of my drawing near unto
 ' him.

' It is objected against me by many, (even good
 ' People) That I am under the *Censure* of the
 ' Church: This is not my Fault, since it is only
 ' for doing my Duty, by obeying my Prince's
 ' most just Commands, for Religion, his sacred
 ' Person and Authority. Yet I am sorry they did
 ' excommunicate me, and in that which is accord-
 ' ing to God's Laws, without wronging my Con-
 ' science or Allegiance, I desire to be relaxed;
 ' if they will not do it, I appeal to God, who is
 ' the righteous Judge of the World, and who
 ' must, and will, I hope, be my Judge and Sa-
 ' viour.

' It is spoken of me, that I should blame the
 ' King, (God forbid) for the late King, he liv'd
 ' a Saint, and dy'd a Martyr; I pray God, I
 ' may so end as he did; if ever I should wish my
 ' Soul in another Man's stead, it should be in his.
 ' For his Majesty now living, never People I be-
 ' lieve might be more happy in a King: His
 ' Commands to me were most just; in nothing
 ' that he promiseth will he fail. He deals justly
 ' with all Men; I pray he be so dealt withal,
 ' that he be not betrayed under Trust, as his Fa-
 ' ther was.

' I desire not to be mistaken, as if my Carri-
 ' age at this Time in relation to your Ways were
 ' stubborn; I do but follow the Light of my own
 ' Conscience, which is seconded by the working
 ' of the good Spirit of God that is within me;
 ' I thank him, I go to Heaven's Throne with Joy.
 ' If

‘ If he enable me againſt the Fear of Death, and
 ‘ furniſh me with Courage and Confidence to em-
 ‘ brace it, even in its moſt ugly Shape ; let God
 ‘ be glorified in my End, though it were in my
 ‘ Damnation. Yet I ſay not this out of any Fear
 ‘ or Diſtruſt, but out of my Duty to God, and
 ‘ Love to his People.

‘ I have no more to ſay, but that I deſire your
 ‘ Charity and Prayers. I ſhall pray for you all.
 ‘ I leave my Soul to God, my Service to my
 ‘ Prince, my Good-will to my Friends, and my
 ‘ Name and Charity to you all. And thus briefly
 ‘ I have exonerated my Conſcience. ’

Being deſired to pray apart, he ſaid, *I have already poured out my Soul before the Lord, who knows my Heart, and into whoſe Hands I have commended my Spirit, and he hath been graciously pleaſed to return to me a full Assurance of Peace in Jeſus Chriſt my Redeemer ; and therefore, if you will not join with me in Prayer, my reiterating again will be both ſcandalous to you and me.* So cloſing his Eyes, and holding up his Hands, he ſtood a good Space at his inward Devotions, being perceived to be inwardly moved all the while : When he had done, he called for the Executioner, and gave him Money. Then having brought unto him (hanging in a Cord) his Declaration and Hiſtory, he hanged them about his Neck, ſaying, *Though it hath pleaſed His Sacred Majeſty that now is, to make him one of the Knights of the moſt Honourable Order of the Garter, yet he did not think himſelf more honoured by the Garter, than by that Cord with the Books, which he would embrace about his Neck with as much Joy and Content, as ever he did the Garter, or a Chain of Gold ; and therefore deſired them to be tied to him as they pleaſed.*

150 *The Sufferings of the, &c.*

When this was done, and his Arms tied, he asked the Officers, *If they had any more Dishonour, as they conceived it, to put upon him, he was ready to accept it.* And so with an undaunted Courage and Gravity suffered, according to the Sentence past upon him.

‘ Thus (says a noble Author) died the gallant
 ‘ Marquis of *Montrofs*, after he had given as great
 ‘ a Testimony of Loyalty and Courage, as a Sub-
 ‘ ject can do, and perform’d as wonderful Acti-
 ‘ ons in several Battles, upon as great Inequality
 ‘ of Numbers, and as great Disadvantages in
 ‘ respect of Arms, as have been perform’d in this
 ‘ Age. He was not without Vanity, but his Vir-
 ‘ tues were much superior; and he well deserv’d
 ‘ to have his Memory preserv’d, and celebrated
 ‘ amongst the most illustrious Persons of the Age
 ‘ in which he liv’d.’

Soon after the Officers who had been taken with him, Sir *William Urry*, Sir *Francis Hay*, and many others, of as good Families as any in the Kingdom, were executed, to the Number of thirty or forty, in several Quarters of the Kingdom, many of them being suter’d to be beheaded. All which Inhumanities, committed in that Nation towards their own Countrymen, do sufficiently demonstrate their Mercies were equally as cruel as those of the prevailing Faction in *England*.

*The Execution of Dr. Levens, who was hang’d over-
 against the Royal-Exchange, July 18. 1650.*

THIS Gentleman was descended of an ancient Family in *Oxfordshire*, within a Mile of the University. His Education was truly generous, his Profession the Civil Law; wherein he was graduated

The Execution of Dr. Levens. 151

duated a Doctor, and in which he was known to be excellent before the Wars.

He continued most Part of the War at *Oxford*, and his own adjacent Dwelling, till such Time as the Surrender of the said City into the Hands of the Parliament, where he had the same Terms, and was concluded in the Articles of that Capitulation; which being forc'd to accept, and lay down his Arms, he again re-assum'd his wonted Studies: But after the Murder of the King, considering the Confusion and impendent Ruin of Church and State, became engag'd for the Service of his banish'd Sovereign; several Consultations and private Meetings were held by him and others in order to it; to which purpose he also receiv'd Commissions, from the King then in *France*, for several Officers of those Forces design'd to be rais'd; and other Instructions, as Affairs proceeded. But the sagacious Industry of the Parliament Spies, lighting upon some Glimpses of this Business, they follow'd it so close, that they discover'd Dr. *Levens* to be the chief Agitator and Manager of the Plot, and in whose Breast the Cabal was principally lodg'd.

An Order thereupon was made by the Council of State, and a Warrant sign'd by *Bradshaw* the President, to seize and bring him before them, to search his Chamber, and to break up his Trunks for Papers (he being then at *London*;) which accordingly was done, a File or two of Musqueteers guarding and securing the House where the said Papers were; among which several blank Commissions, sign'd by the King, were found, and carried with him to the Council, who thereupon order'd him to be proceeded against as a Spy, and referr'd him to a Council of War. Accordingly he was soon after try'd by a Court Martial, where he did not endeavour to excuse himself,

152 *The Execution of Dr. Levens.*

himself, but acknowledg'd their Allegations, and the Justice of his Cause, of which he told them he was no way ashamed; but if it must be so, he would willingly lay down his Life in owning it. He told them moreover, he was indispensably bound by the Laws of God, and this Kingdom, to do what he did, and so referred himself to them. They earnestly press'd him to reveal the other Parties engag'd with him, and gave him fallacious Hopes of Life, if he would freely declare them; but those Offers prevail'd not with him, being resolv'd to suffer, and take all upon himself, rather than ruin others, whom they could not fasten upon without Discovery.

So the Court proceeded to Sentence, which was, That he should be hang'd over-against the *Royal Exchange* in Exchange Time; which after some little Preparation was executed, he being brought in a Coach from the *Mews*, with the Executioner vizarded with him, and a Troop of Horse to guard him to the Place, where the Sheriffs receiv'd him into their Charge. After he alighted, and some Words pass'd between them concerning the said Discovery, he told them they should not expect it, and desir'd them to forbear any further Trouble to that Purpose; and so ascending the Ladder, he prayed very fervently for the King and Church; and commending his Soul into the Hands of his Redeemer, he concluded his last Breath on the 18th of July, 1650.

The Behaviour and Last Dying Speech of Colonel Eusebius Andrews, immediately before his Execution on the Scaffold on Tower-Hill, Aug. 22. 1650.

THIS Gentleman had the Character of an honest and religious Man, bred in my Lord Capel's Family, whose Secretary he was, and a Counselor of *Gray's-Inn*; having been unhappily drawn into some Projects of an Insurrection in Behalf of the King, he was betrayed by some of his Confederates, taken up, and, after several Examinations, brought to his Tryal before the *Higb Court of Justice*: Here he admirably pleaded his Cause: but the Attorney-General *Prideaux* over-ruled all, and told him, 'The Court was not to take notice of his Law-Cases, but of his Confession; and though he had acted no Treason, yet he had an Affection for Treason, and therefore deserved Death.' Upon this learned Distinction, the Court proceeded to Sentence against him, That he should be beheaded: And accordingly he spent the short Remainder of his Time in Exercises of Preparation for the fatal Day, *Aug. 22. 1650.*

As soon as he came upon the Scaffold, kissing the Block, he said, *I hope there is no more but this Block between me and Heaven.* And to the Lieutenant of the Tower, he said, *I hope I shall neither tire in my Way, nor go out of it.* After he had been a good while upon the Scaffold, turning to the Rail, he thus expressed himself:

Christian Gentlemen and People,

† **Y**OUR Business here To-day, is to see a sad Spectacle, a Man to be in a Moment un-
mann'd

‘ mann’d, and cut off in the Prime of his Years,
‘ taken from further Opportunity of doing Good
‘ either to himself, his Friends, the Common-
‘ wealth, or especially to God ; it seldom hap-
‘ pens but upon very good Cause. And though
‘ truly, if my general known Course of Life were
‘ but inquired into, I may modestly say, there
‘ is such a moral Honesty upon it, as some may
‘ be so sawcy as to expostulate why this great
‘ Judgment is fallen upon me : yet know, I am
‘ able to give them and myself an Answer, and
‘ out of this Breast am able to give a better Ac-
‘ count of my Judgment and Execution than my
‘ Judges themselves or you are able to give : It
‘ is God’s Wrath upon me, for Sins long unre-
‘ pent of, many Judgments withstood, and
‘ Mercies slighted ; therefore God hath whipped
‘ me by his severe Rod of Correction, that he
‘ might not lose me : I pray join with me in
‘ Prayer, that it may not be a fruitless Rod ; that
‘ when by this Rod I have laid down my Life,
‘ by this Staff I may be comforted, and received
‘ into Glory.

‘ I am very confident, by what I have heard
‘ since my Sentence, there is more Exception
‘ made against Proceedings against me, than I
‘ ever made. My Tryers had a Law, and the
‘ Value of that Law is indisputable ; and for me
‘ to make a Question of it, I should shame my-
‘ self, and my Discretion. In the Strictness of
‘ that Law, something is done by me that is ap-
‘ plicable to some Clause therein, by which I
‘ stand condemnable ; the Means whereby I was
‘ brought under that Interpretation of that which
‘ was not in myself intended maliciously, being
‘ Testimony given by Persons whom I pity, so
‘ false, yet so positive, that I cannot condemn
‘ my Judges for passing Sentence against me ac-
‘ cording

‘ cording to legal Justice ; for Equity lieth in
‘ higher Breasts.

‘ As for my Accusers, or rather Betrayers, I
‘ pity, and am sorry for them, they have com-
‘ mitted *Judas's* Crime ; but I wish and pray
‘ for them *Peter's Tears*, that, by *Peter's* Repent-
‘ ance, they may escape *Judas's* Punishment ;
‘ and I wish other People so happy, that they may
‘ be taken up betimes, before they have drank up
‘ more Blood of *Christian* Men, possibly less de-
‘ serving than myself.

‘ It is true, there have been several Addresses
‘ made for Mercy, and I will put the Obstruction
‘ of it upon nothing more than upon my own Sin.
‘ And seeing God sees it fit, (having not glorified
‘ him in my Life) I might do it in my Death,
‘ which I am contented to do ; I profess, in the
‘ Face of God, particular Malice, to any one of
‘ State or Parliament, to do them a bodily
‘ Injury, I had none.

‘ For the Cause for which I had long waded, I
‘ must needs say, my Engagement or Continu-
‘ ance in it hath laid no Scruple upon my Con-
‘ science ; it was laid in Principles of Law, the
‘ Knowledge whereof I profess ; and on Prin-
‘ ciples of Religion, my Judgment satisfied, and
‘ Conscience rectified, that I have pursued those
‘ Ways which, I bless God, I find no Blackness
‘ upon my Conscience, nor have I put it into the
‘ Bead-roll of my Sins.

‘ I will not presume to decide Controversies ;
‘ I desire God to honour Himself, in prospering
‘ that Side that hath Right with it ; and that you
‘ may enjoy Peace and Plenty, when I shall enjoy
‘ Peace and Plenty beyond all you possess here.
‘ In my Conversation in the World, I do not
‘ know where I have an Enemy with Cause, or
‘ that there is such a Person whom I have to

‘ re.

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‘ regret : but if there be any whom I cannot
 ‘ recollect, under the Notion of *Christian* Men,
 ‘ I pardon them as freely as if I had named them
 ‘ by Name ; I freely forgive them, being in free
 ‘ Peace with all the World, as I desire God, for
 ‘ Christ’s sake, to be at Peace with me.

‘ For the Business of Death, it is a sad Sen-
 ‘ tence in itself, if Men consult with Flesh and
 ‘ Blood : but truly, without Boasting, I say it ;
 ‘ or if I do boast, I boast in the Lord ; I have
 ‘ not, to this Minute, had one Consultation with
 ‘ the Flesh about the Blow of the *Axe*, or one
 ‘ Thought of the *Axe*, more than as my Pass-
 ‘ port to Glory.

‘ I take it for an Honour, and I owe Thank-
 ‘ fulness to those under whose Power I am, that
 ‘ they have sent me hither to a Place, however
 ‘ of Punishment, yet of some Honour, to die a
 ‘ Death, somewhat worthy of my Blood, answer-
 ‘ able to my Birth and Qualification ; and this
 ‘ Courtesy of theirs hath much helped towards the
 ‘ Pacification of my Mind.

‘ I shall desire God, that those Gentlemen in
 ‘ that sad Bead-roll, to be tried by the High
 ‘ Court of *Justice*, that they may find That really
 ‘ there, that is nominal in the Act, an High
 ‘ Court of *Justice*, a Court of high *Justice* ; high
 ‘ in its Righteousness, though not in its Severity :
 ‘ *Father, forgive them ; and forgive me, as I for-
 ‘ give them.*

‘ I desire you now that you would pray for me,
 ‘ and not give over praying ’till the Hour of
 ‘ Death, not ’till the Moment of Death, for the
 ‘ Hour is come already ; that, as I have a great
 ‘ Load of Sins, so I may have the Wings of
 ‘ your Prayers, to help those Angels who are to
 ‘ convey my Soul into Heaven : and I doubt not
 ‘ but I shall see my Saviour, my gallant Master
 ‘ the

Col. Andrews's *Discourse.* 157

‘ the King of *England*, and another Master whom
‘ I much honoured, my Lord *Capel* ; hoping this
‘ Day to see my *Christ* in the Presence of the
‘ Father, the King in the Presence of Him, my
‘ Lord *Capel* in the Presence of them all ; and
‘ myself there, to rejoyce with all other Saints
‘ and Angels for evermore.’

Dr. Swadling (he being upon the Scaffold)
spake as followeth unto the Colonel :

*You have this Morning, in the Presence of a few,
given some Account of your Religion ; and, under
general Notions or Words, have given an Account of
your Faith, Charity, and Repentance.*

To those on the Scaffold : *If you please to hear
the same Questions asked here, you shall, that it may
be a general Testimony to you all, that he died in the
Favour of God.*

To the Colonel : *Now, Sir, I being to deal
with you ; Do you acknowledge, that this Stroke that
you are to suffer, is a just Punishment laid upon you
by God for your former Sins ?*

Col. Andrews. I dare not only not deny it, but
dare not but confess it ; I have no Opportunity
of glorifying God more, than by taking Shame
to myself ; and I have a Reason of the Justice
of God in my Bosom, which I have put to your
Bosom.

Doctor. *You acknowledge that you deserve more
than this Stroke of the Axe ; and that a far greater
Misery is due to you, even the Pains and Torments of
Hell, that the Damned there endure.*

Col. I know it is due in righteous Judgment :
but I know again, I have a Satisfaction made by
my Lord and Saviour *Christ Jesus*, and then I say
it is not due ; ’tis due from me, but quitted by
his Righteousness.

Doct.

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Doct. *Do you believe to be saved by that Mediator, and none other ?*

Col. By that, and that only ; renouncing all secondary Causes whatsoever.

Doct. *Are you truly and unfeignedly sorry before God, as you appear to us, for all those Sins that have brought you hither ?*

Col. I am sorry, and can never be sorrowful enough ; and am sorry I can be no more sorry.

Doct. *If God should by a Miracle, (not to put you to a vain Hope, but if God should, as he did to Hezekiah) renew your Days, what Life would you resolve to lead hereafter ?*

Col. It is a Question of great Length, and requires a great Time to answer. Men in such Straits would promise great Things ; but I would first call some Friends to limit how far I should make a Vow, that I might not make a rash one, and offer the Sacrifice of Fools : but a Vow I would make, and, by God's Help, endeavour to keep it.

Doct. *Do you wish Health and Happiness upon all lawful Authorities and Government ?*

Col. I do prize all Obedience to lawful Government, and the adventuring against them is sinful : and I do not justify myself, whatever my Judgment be, for my thus venturing against the present Government ; I leave it to God to judge whether it be righteous : if it be, it must stand.

Doct. *Are you now in Love and Charity with all Men ? Do you freely forgive them ?*

Col. With all the World, freely ; and the Lord forgive them, and forgive me, as I freely forgive them.

Doct. *You have for some late Years laid down your Gown, and took up the Sword, and you were a Man of Note in those Parts where you had your Residence. I have nothing to accuse you for want of Diligence in*
hindering

hindering the doing of Injuries; yet possibly there might be some Wrong done by your Officers, or those under you, to some particular Men: If you had your Estate in your Hands, would you make Restitution?

Col. The Wrongs themselves you bring to my Mind are not great, nor many; some Things of no great Moment; but such as they are, my Desire is to make Restitution, but have not wherewithal.

Doct. If you had Ability, would you likewise leave a Legacy of Thankfulness to Almighty God, something to his poor Servants, to his lame Members, to his deaf Members, to his dumb Members?

Col. My Will hath always been better than my Ability that way.

Doct. Sir, I shall trouble you very little farther: I thank you for all those heavenly Colloquies I have enjoyed by being in your Company these three Days; and truly I am very sorry I must part with so heavenly an Associate. We have known one another heretofore, but never so Christian-like before; I have rather been a Scholar to learn from you, than an Instructor. I wish this Stage, wherein you are made a Spectacle to God, Angels, and the World, may be a School to all about you: for though I will not diminish your Sins, nor shall I conceal nor hypocritize my own, for they are great ones betwixt God and myself, yet I think there are few here have a lighter Load upon them than you have, if we consider Things well; and I only wish them your Repentance, and that Measure of Faith God hath given you, and that Measure of Courage you have attained from God, and that constant Perseverance God hath crown'd you with hitherto.

Col. His Name be praised.

Here the Doctor prayed with him almost a quarter of an Hour: After which the Colonel, turning

ing himself again to the People, spake as followeth:

‘ One thing more I desire to be clear in :
 ‘ There lieth a common Imputation upon the
 ‘ *Cavaliers*, that they are Papists, and under that
 ‘ Name are made odious to those of the contrary
 ‘ Opinion. I am not a Papist ; but renounce the
 ‘ Pope, with all his Dependencies : When the
 ‘ Distractions in Religion first sprang up, I might
 ‘ have been thought apt to turn from this Church
 ‘ to the *Roman* ; but was utterly unsatisfied in
 ‘ their Doctrine in Point of Faith, and very much
 ‘ as to their Discipline. The Religion which I
 ‘ profess, is that which passeth under the Name
 ‘ of *Protestant* ; though that be rather a Name of
 ‘ Distinction, than properly essential to Religion.
 ‘ But the Religion which was found out in the
 ‘ Reformation, purged from all the Errors of
 ‘ *Rome* in the Reign of *Edward VI.* practised in
 ‘ the Reigns of *Queen Elizabeth*, *King James*,
 ‘ and *King Charles*, that blessed Prince, deceased ;
 ‘ that Religion, before it was defaced, I am of,
 ‘ which I take to be Christ's Catholick, though
 ‘ not the *Roman Catholick Religion* ; in the
 ‘ Profession and Practice whereof I will live
 ‘ and die. ’

Then he turned himself to the Executioner, and said, ‘ I have no Reason to quarrel with
 ‘ thee, thou art not the Hand that throws
 ‘ the Stone ; I am not of such an Estate to be
 ‘ liberal, but there is three Pounds for thee,
 ‘ which is all I have. Now tell me what I lack. ’
 To which the Executioner answered, ‘ Your Hair
 ‘ must be turned up. ’ Then the *Colonel* replied,
 ‘ Shew me how I must fit myself upon the Block. ’
 After which, his Doublet being pulled off, and
 Hair turned up, he turned again to the People,
 and

and prayed a good while. Before he lay down upon the Block, he thus expressed himself again to the People :

‘ There is not one Face that looks upon me, though many Faces, and perhaps different from me in Opinion and Practice, but methinks hath something of Pity in it ; and may that Mercy which is in your Hearts, fall into your own Bosoms, when you have need of it ; and may you never find such Blocks of Sin to stand in the Way of your Mercy, as I have met with. ’

Then he prayed (leaning on the Scaffold) with an audible Voice for about a quarter of an Hour : having done, he had some private Conference with Dr. *Swadling*. Then taking his Leave of his Friends, Sheriffs, and Acquaintance, saluting them all with a courteous Valediction, he prepared himself for the Block, and, kneeling down, said, ‘ Let me try the Block : ’ which he did. After casting his Eyes up, and fixing them intently upon Heaven, he said, ‘ When I say, *Lord Jesus, receive me*, Executioner, do thine Office. ’ Then kissing the Axe, he lay down, and with as much undaunted, yet Christian Courage, as possibly could be in Man, did he expose his Throat to the fatal Axe, his Life to the Executioner, and commended his Soul into the Hands of a faithful and merciful Creator, through the meritorious Passion of a gracious Redeemer ; and repeating the afore-mentioned Words, his Head was smitten off at one Blow.

162 Execution of Capt. Benson, &c.

The Execution of Capt. Benson at Tyburn, Oct. 7. 1650: Also of the Reverend Mr. Cooper, and Major Saul, in Norfolk, for being concerned in an Insurrection in that County.

Captain Benson had been formerly a Retainer to Sir John Gell, having a Command under him during the Time Sir John had the Unhappiness to serve the Parliament, who was likewise very near undergoing the same Fate with his Man, and the aforesaid Sufferer Col. Andrews, who both had the Misfortune to be trepann'd in the same Affair against the then prevailing Powers, but were both shamefully betrayed, and, according to their inhuman Sentence, executed, the Colonel as above, and Benson at Tyburn, Oct. 7. 1650, where he loyally and christianly (taxing their treacherous Cruelty and Ingratitude) finished his Course.

Not long after, the new State was alarm'd with an Insurrection in Norfolk, where some Hundreds of them were gathered together, declaring for King Charles II. but the County Horse quartering at Lynn, and a Troop of Rich's Men, that were near at hand, (being there before) having some Intelligence of the Design, presently dispers'd them, most of them flying into *Lincolnshire*, and saved the London Forces the Trouble of a long Journey, who were then on their Way. To try these Insurrectors, a High Court of Justice was erected by the Parliament at *Norwich*, the Members and Commissioners whereof chose out of themselves Justice *Jermyn* their President, and the Justices *Pulliston* and *Warberton*, to be his Coadjutors: They condemned twenty-four, whereof
Twenty

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Twenty were executed; the Chief of those thus sentenc'd, were Mr. Cooper, a Minister in the same County, who was executed at *Holt*, and died a loyal and Christian Martyr; Major *Saul*, formerly an Officer in the King's Army, and a Merchant and Brewer in the City of *Norwich*.

The Speech of the truly Loyal Colonel William Sybbald, on the Scaffold, at the Time of his Execution at Edinburgh, Jan. 7. 1650.

‘ GENTLEMEN, I am brought this Day to this
‘ Place to pay a Debt to Nature before it be
‘ due; and by the Malice and Cruelty of mercia-
‘ less Enemies, I am sentenced to die as a Trai-
‘ tor to my Country, for endeavouring to do
‘ Service for my King, on whose Happiness and
‘ Welfare does depend the Welfare of these King-
‘ doms; and to whom I am bound both by the
‘ Law of God and Man, to perform all faithful
‘ and loyal Service: And as the Cause for which
‘ I suffer proclaims my Loyalty, so their Sen-
‘ tence does declare to all the World their Dis-
‘ loyalty, and their Intentions against the King.

‘ Their Self-guiltiness makes cowardly Spirits
‘ cruel; and such were their Proceedings against
‘ me, as that I could not obtain an Advocate to
‘ plead for me, nor any Man skilful in the Laws,
‘ either to advise with me, or to write my De-
‘ fence, tho’ they knew me to be ignorant of the
‘ Laws. Thus is my Innocency and Integrity
‘ betray’d, partly by their Malice, and my own
‘ Ignorance.

‘ The Truth is, they did proffer to do me any
‘ Courtesy or Favour, if I would make an inge-

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• nuous Confession ; that is, accuse some Noble-
 • men and Gentlemen of keeping Correspondency
 • with his Majesty, or with the Marquis of *Mont-
 • trofs* ; which if I had done, I deserved to have
 • been branded with perpetual Infamy, for I ne-
 • ver knew any Man in this Kingdom that did
 • keep Correspondency with them ; neither had I
 • Commission from his Majesty, or the Marquis
 • of *Montrofs*, to treat with any. I did indeed
 • speak with some Noblemen and Gentlemen, be-
 • cause I was formerly obliged unto them for
 • their Love to me, and did expect from them
 • some Assistance to furnish me in my Journey ;
 • but I never spake with them concerning the
 • publick Affairs, no farther than the Weekly
 • *Gazettes* made known to all the World ; if these
 • great Fish could have been taken in our States-
 • mens Nets, it might have been that such a
 • *Minim* as I should have escaped the Bailiff of
 • the Fish-market's Hand this Day.

• I have been from my Youth a Soldier ; and
 • tho' that Calling in itself be honourable, yet
 • Men in that Calling have greater Occasions and
 • Provocations to sin than in any private Calling.
 • Besides, naturally my Youth led me to some
 • abominable Sins, and Custom in them did for
 • many Years detain me captive unto them ; so
 • that I cannot but confess, that to me appetain-
 • eth Shame and Confusion in this Life, and
 • Damnation of Soul and Body eternally in Hell-
 • fire, if God should deal with me according to
 • my Desert ; my Comfort is, that the Blood of
 • my Saviour cries louder in his Ears for Mercy,
 • than my Sins do for Vengeance ; and that he
 • who hath promised a free Pardon and Remif-
 • sion unto all penitent Sinners through Faith in
 • Jesus Christ, will purge and cleanse my Soul
 • from all Uncleanness, and deliver me from all
 • • Blood-

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‘ Blood-guiltiness by the Blood of his Son our Sa-
‘ viour. The true Sorrow that I find in my Soul
‘ for my former Sins, and that godly Resolution
‘ and stedfast Promise I have to lead a new Life,
‘ if it pleased God to continue it, together with
‘ the *Joy*, the *Patience*, and the *Courage* I have to
‘ suffer, gives me some Assurance of this blessed
‘ Hope, that through Faith in Christ Jesus my
‘ Saviour, my penitent Soul, tho’ sinful, shall be
‘ saved.

‘ And as for my Religion, I die as I lived, a
‘ true Protestant: This Religion, I thank God,
‘ as it preserved me from Popish Superstition, so
‘ it kept me from being seduced by the Novelty
‘ of the Times, and from being deluded with the
‘ wicked Doctrine which is now taught by the
‘ Reformers of the Kirk. It was this Religion
‘ that did keep my Hand from your Covenant;
‘ of which, in the Space of some five Years you
‘ gave two Interpretations, quite contradictory;
‘ for in the Year 1639, the *Assembly* did affirm,
‘ (as appears by our Acts of Parliament and Af-
‘ sembly) that in all Causes whatsoever, you were
‘ to defend and maintain the Person and Dignity
‘ of your King; but in the Year 1644, you limit
‘ your Obedience to your King, to your Reli-
‘ gion, Laws, and Liberty; and make your-
‘ selves, in all Differences between the King and
‘ you, both *Judge* and *Party*. The Religion in
‘ which I was bred, taught me to give both to
‘ my God, and to my King their Due; it taught
‘ me to honour and worship God, and to expect
‘ Salvation thro’ Christ; and to live soberly, and
‘ to deal justly with all Men. I ever hated that
‘ Religion which made Saints or Angels Sharers
‘ with God in his Worship; or Men Partakers with
‘ my Redeemer in the Work of my Redemption;
‘ or that made our Christian Liberty a Cloak of

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' Maliciousness; and tho' naturally I was inclined
 ' to Evil, and wicked Company drew me to most
 ' heinous and filthy Sins; yet, I thank God, I
 ' hated that Religion that taught Impiety and
 ' Wickedness, Rebellion, Murder, and Injustice,
 ' or that approved the killing of Kings, and their
 ' loyal Subjects for their Loyalty, as having its
 ' Original rather from the Devil, who was a
 ' Murderer from the Beginning, rather than from
 ' God; and I did ever esteem it more agreeable
 ' to Man's sinful and corrupted Nature, than to
 ' God's holy Word. I have heard a learned Man
 ' say, That it were better to deny God to be,
 ' than to believe him to be such an one who de-
 ' lights in the bloody Sacrifice of Men and Wo-
 ' men, or to think that he is such an one who
 ' delights in Cruelty and Murder; the God
 ' whom we serve and worship, is the Saviour of
 ' the World, the Preserver of Man, the Re-
 ' deemer of Mankind, the Avenger of his Blood.
 ' I have been taught from God's Word, *That he*
 ' *hath no Pleasure in Wickedness, neither shall any*
 ' *Evil dwell with him*; undoubtedly such bloody
 ' Sacrifices cannot be pleasing or acceptable to
 ' him, for they are repugnant to his Nature, and
 ' contradictory to the Justice and Equity of his
 ' holy Law.

' It is my greatest Grief at this Time, I did
 ' not walk according to the Purity of my Reli-
 ' gion, and the Holiness of God, who hath call-
 ' ed us to the Knowledge of his Truth. There-
 ' fore let me intreat you to pray unto God with
 ' me, and for me, that he would be pleased to
 ' pardon my many and great Sins; that he would
 ' purge my Soul with the Blood of his Son from
 ' the Guile and Pollution of all my Sins; that I
 ' may be presented unto my heavenly Father
 ' without Spot or Wrinkle, holy, without Ble-
 ' mish;

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‘ mish; that he would receive me through the
‘ Merits of my Saviour into everlasting Peace,
‘ and into the glorious Estate of his glorious Saints
‘ in Heaven. O Lord, into thy Hands I com-
‘ mend my Soul; Lord J-esu, receive my Spirit;
‘ O merciful Father, forgive my Enemies, and
‘ lay not this Sin to their Charge. *Amen.*’

*The last Dying Speech and Deportment of Sir Henry
Hide, on the Scaffold at the Royal Exchange,
where he was beheaded, March 4. 1650.*

THIS Gentleman was Cousin to the great Earl
of *Clarendon*, bred a *Turkey Merchant*, and
after the gaining of a considerable Estate, and
Experience, made their Consul at the *Morea*;
where his Integrity and Prudence drew to him
such Respect in those Parts, that his Majesty King
Charles II. having some Occasion of Correspon-
dence at the *Porte*, sent him (to use his own
Word) *Internuncio* thither for the Good of his
Merchant Subjects; whereupon the Rebels by
their Agents so wrought upon the Viz er, that he
sent him in the *Smyrna Fleet*, with other honest
Persons that sided with him, into *England*; where
after some Months Imprisonment in the *Tower*,
he was, by an High Court of Justice, (which re-
fused him the Liberty of pleading in *Italian*, the
Language he was most ready and expressive in)
accus'd of having a Design of seizing those Mer-
chants Estates there, and affronting Sir *Thomas
Bendish* the old Resident with his new Commission.
To which although Sir *Henry* made a learned De-
fence, yet it was all in vain to those who were re-
solv'd before-hand to dispatch him: So Sentence

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of Death was passed upon him, and accordingly he lost his Head *March 4. 1650*; the Axe doing that at one Blow, which his many Diseases would have done within a few Weeks, for he was not able either to rise or fall of himself, tho' he was able to die.

The following Account of his Deportment, Colloquies, and dying Speech on the Scaffold, is printed in the very Words they were deliver'd; and tho' there may be some abrupt Breakings-off, and other Expressions not so smooth as might have been, yet a Word of them could not with Honesty be alter'd; so that they are here faithfully presented, that neither the Sufferer nor the World might be imposed upon.

He was brought in a Coach to the Scaffold, attended by the Lieutenant of the *Tower*, and the Sheriffs of *London*, as likewise in Company of Dr. *Hide*, and one of his Servants.

At his Arrival at the Place of Execution, Sir *Henry* thus spoke: ' I am come to put in Practice
' the Christian Profession; and as I owe a Death
' to Nature and Sin, now I pay it upon the Score
' of Grace.'

Dr. *Hide*. Blessed be God that hath enabled you to it: God hath and will enable you.

Then Sir *Henry* looking round on the People, said, ' A populous City! God bless it, and grant
' that they may live to his Grace.' Then turning to his Man, he said, ' *John*, I pray now, tho'
' I have not been a good Master to you, be you
' a good Servant, and accompany me with your
' Prayers, and help me both in Body and Mind,
' *John*; have you my Things about you, *John*?'

Then staying for his Servants, they being not upon the Scaffold, he said, ' I had rather have
' my Servants than Strangers.'

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The Lieutenant of the *Tower* coming to him, he said, ' Pray Sir, rejoice with me: I thank ' Almighty God, I am brought hither to suffer for ' him. '

Lieu. of the Tower. I am glad you are so comforted: God's Will be fulfilled in all Things.

Then the Chirurgeon coming, (but not his Kinsman who was called for) he said, ' My Kinsman is of no Use, you may be useful about my ' Body; I hope, Master Sheriff, that you'll give ' Order I may have a little Room here. '

Sheriff. Yes, yes, Sir.

Sir H. Hide. And likewise for Liberty of Speech, and that it shall please you, (for I am not acquainted with the Forms here of *England*) that I may speak my own Sense (I am now going into the Presence of Almighty God) a very little without any Disturbance.

Sheriff. Why Sir, you shall.

Sir H. Hide. *John*, where is my Coffin?

John. It is here, Sir.

Sheriff. Sir, it seems these Men cannot be found.

Sir H. Hide. But if Mr. *Barret* could be found—

After some Stay, Mr. *Barret* being not found, the Sheriff spake to him, saying,

Sheriff. You have your Liberty, you know your Time.

Sir H. Hide. Where is the Place of standing, that Way, or this Way? (*pointing towards the Exchange and the Poultry.*)

Sheriff. Which Way you please; you may stand which Way you will, but that Way you must lie. (*Pointing towards the Exchange.*)

Sir H. Hide. I am indifferent: It is not the Way to Heaven where a Man stands.

One brought Word to him, that there was no Help to be had.

Sir

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Sir H. Hide. That is no Hindrance to my Felicity.

Dr. Hide. God enable you that you may find that Joy and Comfort which is due to the Glory of his holy Name; he will not forsake you that have put your Trust in him.

Sir H. Hide. I will open my Heart and my Mouth with Thanksgiving, if this Gentleman please to give Way.

Then turning towards the *Poultry*, he put off his Hat, and said, *Glory be to GOD on High, on Earth Peace, good Will to Men.*

Christian People,

‘ I Am come hither to die; I am brought hither
 ‘ to die, and that I may die Christian-like, I
 ‘ humbly beseech the Assistance of your Christian
 ‘ Prayers, that by the Benefit of them, my Passage
 ‘ may be the more easy: Yet because Men in
 ‘ that Condition which it hath pleased God to
 ‘ reduce me to, carry more Credit in their
 ‘ Speeches; in the Discharge of my Duty towards
 ‘ God, I shall use a few Words, and so
 ‘ dispatch.

‘ I pray all of you join with me to praise this
 ‘ Almighty God, to whom I desire to render all
 ‘ hearty Thanks, as for all his Mercies, so in
 ‘ particular for this, that he hath brought me
 ‘ hither: That whereas I owe a Duty to Sin, and
 ‘ to Nature, I can pay it upon the Account of
 ‘ Grace. And because it is fit to render an Account
 ‘ of that Hope that is in me, I shall tell
 ‘ you, to the Praise of Almighty God, that I
 ‘ have been born and bred up in the Doctrine of
 ‘ the Church of *England*, I have no negative Religion,
 ‘ believing to be saved by the only Merits
 ‘ of

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of my Saviour Jesus Christ, (*putting off his Hat*)
and whatsoever else is profess'd in the Doctrine
and Discipline of the Church of *England*, au-
thorized by Law; humbly beseeching Almighty
God to restore unto this Church her Peace,
Prosperity, and Patrimony, whereof I have
been an obedient and a loving (however an un-
worthy) Son. And now both my Hope being
confident, and my Faith perfected, there re-
mains only Christian Charity; Charity we carry
into Heaven, Charity on Earth, and that I
leave, beseeching all whomsoever I have of-
fended, (whether I have or no) to forgive me,
as I from the Bottom of my Heart do them
whomsoever; blessing Almighty God for the
happy Advantage he takes to bring me nearer
to Heaven; blessing Almighty God, that he
hath given me this Advantage, as he hath been
merciful to me before the Foundation of the
World, in my Saviour; so that now he hath in
Mercy honoured me with a Suffering for his
Name, in Obedience to his Commandment.

On this Day Se'nnight, I was summon'd be-
fore that Court of Justice which condemn'd me
on *Friday* last; praised be Almighty God, that
by this Way he hath brought me the nearer to
himself (*putting off his Hat*). My Charge, I pre-
sume, is publick, as my Punishment is visible:
If there have been any thing in the Manage-
ment of my Part, being unskilful, having dis-
continued in my own Country many Years, I
shall beseech the Christian Charity of all you
my beloved Countrymen, to impute unto the
right Part the Ignorance that is in this skilful
Way of managing: It was objected unto me
there, that I had a Vanity of delighting in a
strange Tongue. I was best skill'd in the *Ita-*
lian, (but free from that Vanity, I thank Al-
mighty

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‘ mighty God); and therefore I would, in Defence of my Life, (if it had been the Custom here, or the Judge’s Favour) have used that Language.

‘ It was objected, That I did not so freely as a thorough-pac’d Cavalier, own my Master. I was told since I came into *England*, (for other Skill I have not in your Laws) that a legal Denial in Law might be tolerable: I hope I did not exceed the Bound of that in any thing, for God forbid that I should be ashamed of serving so good, so pious, so just a Master, (*putting off his Hat*) for that I therein rejoice; and I humbly beseech Almighty God to fill my Heart and my Tongue, and all that hear me this Day, with Thankfulness for it.

‘ As to the Business, that another Construction had been made and believ’d here, than what was there, the righteous God knoweth it; if any Weakness was in the Management, that was mine; I was sent to serve and protect, not to injure any; and as God acquits me of the Intention in Matter of Fact, as having done any manner of Evil that way, however here understood, blessed be his holy Name (*putting off his Hat*); so those Gentlemen of the *Turkey Company*, if they would seriously consider (for they know it very well) the Impossibility of my doing them any manner of Harm. Whereas that of the Embassy objected against me, that my Master never honoured me withal; I was never worthy of it, I was his *Messenger*, an *Interuncio* for the Conservation only of his good Subjects, of all the Merchants, until such time as he could confirm that Gentleman now resident, or send any other; and they themselves know, that there was an Impossibility in me (as, I bless God, there was an Innocency in me) unto
‘ any

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any such Intention to do them any Harm; for
my Master's Commands were point-blank the
contrary; I was only sent for their Good: As I
never own'd the Title, so the very Letters them-
selves mention no other: I never did so much
as speak of any manner of Address unto the
Grand Seignior, but gave him the Letter from
my Master; the rest of the *English* Nation that
were there present, may, when they please, as-
sert so much. This I would insert, that those
Gentlemen, as they have been Losers by the
Miscarriages of others, may now have no Breach
of their Charity with me; but if it be, as it
seems it is now in this Country, a Sin to be
Loyal, I hope my God hath forgiven that, when
it is upon harmless Employment, not invading
any, according to his just Master's Order;
for indeed I have been always bred up in
that Religion, my Allegiance hath been incor-
porated to my Profession, and I have thought
it a great Part of the Service due from me to
Almighty God, to serve the King. (*Putting
off his Hat.*) I need not make any Apology
for any thing in Relation to the present Things
in *England*, for were I, as I spake before my
Judges, were I as evil as my Sentence hath here
made me black, it were impossible for me to
have prejudiced any body in *England*, or to *Eng-
land* belonging, in that Employment; but I bless
God for his infinite Mercy in Jesus Christ, (*put-
ting off his Hat*) who hath brought me home to
him here in this Way; it was the best Physick
for the curing of my Soul, and those that have
done it, have no more Power than in that of
my Body. I leave nothing behind but that I
am willing to part withal, all that I am going
to is desirable: And that you may all know, that
Almighty God hath totally wrought in me a to-
tal

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• tal Denial of myself, and that there is that per-
 • fect Reformation of me within, and of my own
 • Corruptions, by the blessed Assistance of his
 • holy Spirit, I desire Almighty God, in the
 • Abundance of the Bowels of his Mercy in Jesus
 • Christ, not only to forgive every Enemy, (if
 • any such be in the World, here or wheresoever)
 • but to bring him into his Bosom so much Good,
 • and particular Comfort, as he may at any time,
 • whether the Cause were just or unjust, have
 • wished me any manner of Evil, for I take him
 • to be the happy Instrument of bringing me to
 • Heaven. It is tedious, but I have an inward
 • Comfort, I bless Almighty God: (pray Gentle-
 • men, give me Leave, *speaking to some that pres-*
 • *sed upon him*) I should never do it but to give
 • Satisfaction to all charitable Hearts. I have
 • been troublesome.

Sheriff. You have your Liberty to speak more, if you please.

Sir Henry Hide. But as to that Part, Master Sheriff, that did concern the Denial (as was affirm'd by Master Attorney-General) of my Master's Employment: Truly landing at *Whitehall*, I told that Council, there were just Commissions to an old Officer by the Blessing of God, which I have by me; and I have other things that God hath blessed me withal, more than all the good Christians in the World, that are not the *Grand Seignior's* Slaves; and we that are Merchants abroad, allow ourselves any Sufferance that may conduce to our own Safety, Inlargement of Trade, or Preservation of what is our own. Why, I had by the Grace of my gracious Master, a Confirmation of my old Commission of *Consulage* in *Greece*; but as to the Embassy, no more than my Credential Letters did speak, nor more than that I attempted,

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tempted, an *Internuncio* they call it in those Places, which is a Messenger between the one and the other King; they both unhappily died of several Deaths, and both violent too. And it is a Custom not unknown to you, Master Sheriff, and other Gentlemen that practise in the World, that Princes of Course, for the Continuation of Amity, do send Messengers where there is Peace, that the Transaction of those publick Expressions of reciprocal Affection may be performed; but for Embassy, God forbid I should own it, I never had it, however they have us'd it as the happy Means to bring me to God this Day. I beseech God in the Bowels of my Saviour, to forgive those People that have done it, I owe them no Harm, so God pay them home with the Goods of this, and an everlasting Life.

As for Power, I have been long absent here in *England*, I meddle with none; sufficient to me is God's Grace to the Salvation of my Soul. I have always been fearful of offending Almighty God, according to the Grace he hath given me; but to learn a new Religion, and new Ways, that I must say, Master Sheriff, to you, and all others that hear me, I cannot dispense with my Conscience to give Offence to Almighty God. I am now (if it be with your Permission, Master Sheriff) to pour out my Soul to Almighty God in two or three Words (the Place is streighten'd). If I knew wherein to give any Satisfaction whatsoever, wherein I have offended or no, I am here in the Fear of God to do it. I forgive them with all my Soul, and my Forgiveness is clear, as I am now going to receive Happiness at the Hand of my Saviour: But if I thought it were Satisfaction to *Sir Thomas Bendish*, and all the Company, or any who think they have offended me, I am come, Master Sheriff, to pay that Obedience

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ence willingly ; that Debt I owe to Nature ; to pay it upon the Score of a Subject : because Conscience within me tells me not, that for the Intentions of serving my Prince I could deserve such a Death, though ten thousand times more otherwife.

Dr. Hide. There was some Suspicion that you might impart the Way you were upon to some of those Servants that were with you.

Sir Henry Hide. I humbly thank you for remembering me of it ; and if any be here of the *Turkey* Company this Day, or any Friend of theirs, I shall desire them, from a dying Man, to take this Truth, That neither my Brother, my innocent Brother that is with me, nor other Gentlemen with me in the Company, have contributed any thing to their Disturbance ; it was my own Business, whatsoever hath been done, that hath been to Evil, or Loss, though I deny both of them in my Intentions. I come not here to accuse any Man, nor excuse myself, but I praise God for all his Deliverances ; yet I know I shall do God a great deal of Service, and them a great deal of Justice, in not involving any of my Company in any thing of Mischief. I cannot answer Objections : I find a Man may be in *Turkey*, or in any Place all the World over, where they will give that Language which they hold fitting ; but this is beneath me. Blessed be Almighty God that hath called me to the Knowledge of him, and this ready Obedience which I pay, and mercifully accepting of my Saviour, and patient Death. And I beseech you all, whatsoever you are, that you will accompany me with your Prayers, whereby my Soul may be assisted within me, in that Passage to my Saviour whither I am going. I am weak of Body ; I have discontinued long from the Kingdom ; I am unacquainted with New Forms ;
I have

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I have desired to serve God according to his Commandments after the *Old Way*: I have begged Mercy of God for all my Offences to him, and have had my Pardon sealed from Heaven by the Blood of my Saviour. I beg Pardon of all whomsoever, whether I have offended them or no; I truly forgive them, and have besought Almighty God to pour out his Blessings upon them. I accuse no Man; I find fault nor quarrel with no Man, neither with the Persons that were the Occasions, they were but Instruments; neither with the Persons condemning: I accept thankfully the Sentence of Death upon myself; and I beseech Almighty God that I may be the last that may suffer upon this Score, or upon any other.

Mr. Sheriff, if there be any thing wherein I can give any other Satisfaction to any Christian whatsoever, in any kind, as I spake in general, I bless God Almighty from my own Heart, now so assisted by the especial Operation, and Motions, and Dictates of the Holy Ghost: If I can know any thing wherein, or how to be now in my dying (not having served God so well in my Life) serviceable to the Church of God, of Christ, and the full Satisfaction of any whatsoever, I am here ready: I am unacquainted, but in my Ecstasies to Heaven there is that Glory I am going to. I beseech Almighty God, that he will give me Grace to bless his holy Name, as for all, as for Jesus Christ, and in him all things, so particularly for this, that he hath thought me worthy to bring me hither for my Faithfulness to my Master, that is the most pious and most just Prince in all the World. My Master hath suffered bitterly in *England*; and if there be any Failing in his Service, the Fault is only mine. God knows, I have done nothing in the Business, but by the Instances of the Merchants I delivered my Letters, and there

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they

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they lie : To other Things I am a Stranger. I hope that God will give me the Grace of Perseverance in that Christian Religion, in that Loyalty to my Prince, in that Love to all the World, that now being to give up my Account to him, I may with Comfort be received into the Arms of his Mercy.

If there be any thing, Mr. Sheriff, that I may give Satisfaction in, I am ready to do it according to the poor Talent I have. I will receive my Punishment in the Way God hath prepared for me, and many Ways I have been taken up. Truly I am bound to all that see me, and many thousands more, since I came into *England*; not an uncivil Look, (we had strange Reports abroad) not an uncivil Look from any. God repay them all, and return them from the Throne of his Grace into their own Bosoms ; and God, in particular, bless that honourable Lady, who was the Occasion of the coming of my Lord's Grace of *Armagh*, with the Confirmation of those glorious and eternal Messages of Comfort which now I am going to enjoy ; being thankful to all those that know me, and know me not : for since I came hither, whereas I might have received Prejudice in respect to my Loyalty, (which is not the Way now) I have from them all received Courtesy, the Lord repay them. I thank God, I am otherwise bred, and my Allegiance hath been incorporated, imbodyed into my Religion ; and besides the great Desires of other Gentlemen, that I might go out of the World, as that the World might see that the Grace of God hath had a perfect Reformation in me, and a willing and thankful Submission to his Will, therefore I repent me not of it : but I beseech Almighty God to bless and prosper all People whatsoever that to this Kingdom belong. As my Speech is imperfect, so
is

is my Health : I have forced myself, in this Discourse, to give that Satisfaction which I could. And I beseech you, Mr. Sheriff, if you can hear of any Gentlemen that are wronged, what I offer here, I am ready to answer ; and I beseech you, join with me in your Christian Prayers, that I may have a joyful Passage whither I am now going to give an Account, not only of every Deed, but of every Word.

Then turning to his Man, he said, ‘ *John*,
‘ which is the Executioner ?

The Executioner being brought to him, he said, ‘ *Honest Friend*, I have no Quarrel with
‘ you, you are the welcome Instrument : Do
‘ your Work, only let me see the Place, that I
‘ may fit myself, for I have an infirm Body.

Sheriff. You shall when you have prayed, if you please to pray first.

Sir H. Hide. I desire to see the Block ; I can pray afterwards. Here, Mr. Executioner, is that Money that is left ; here is four Pounds for you.

Then being shewed the Block, he kissed it, saying, ‘ It is unworthy for me to put my Head
‘ where my Master’s was : Blessed be God,
‘ blessed be his holy Name, (*putting off his Hat*) :
‘ I have an Infirmary in my Body, but God
‘ hath enabled me inwardly. Pray, Mr. Sheriff,
‘ let me have a little more Room. ’

Sheriff. Go to Prayer, and we will clear the Room.

Sir H. Hide. I have, I thank Almighty God, done those Christian Offices belonging to me at home ; I come hither only to die.

Then kneeling down, he said the *Lord's Prayer* ; and having prayed a short Space, he stood up, and turning to the Executioner, said, ‘ *Honest Friend*, I pray give me Direction what I am
‘ to do, and do your Office : You will cure all

180 *The Execution of Capt. Bushel.*

‘ Diseases presently ; pray, direct me.’ Then the Executioner going to spread the Scarf over the Block, he said, ‘ Put it not on now, but by-
‘ and-by.’

Dr. Hide God Almighty strengthen you.

Sir H. Hide. God reward you.

Then the Executioner going to put up his Hair under his Sattin Cap, he thought he had been taking it off ; whereupon he said, ‘ Must I have
‘ my black Cap off ? it is very cold ; all these
‘ Diseases will be cured, the Lord be thanked.’

Then going to lie down, his Man not helping him, he said, ‘ *John*, help me a little, I pray :
‘ Did not I tell you, I could neither rise nor fall ?
‘ Lay me down, and lift me up again, *John*.’

Then rising again upon his Knees, he spake to the Executioner, having the Axe in his Hand,
‘ Pray, Sir, give me the Axe.’

And then taking the Axe in his Hand, he kissed it, and returned it to the Executioner again, saying, ‘ I will only say, *Lord Jesus*, receive my
‘ Soul ; and when I lift up my Right Hand, do
‘ your Work.’

And then lying down again, after a little Space he lift up his Right Hand, and the Executioner at one Stroke severed his Head from his Body.

*The Execution of Capt. Brown Bushel, who was
Beheaded on Tower-Hill, April 29. 1651.*

Captain *Bushel*, an expert Seaman, and Commander of a Man of War in the Parliament Service at the Beginning of the Rebellion, had been very active in bringing the Fleet to the Prince's Command ; and at the Conclusion of the
the

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the War had lived some Years unobserved at *London*, 'till at last he was enviously taken notice of, and apprehended there, as he was waiting for an Opportunity to serve the King; and tossed about from Custody to Custody for the Space of three Years, and at last sent to the *Tower*, where it went so hard with him for Necessaries, that his Wife was forced to come to him from as far as *Covent-Garden* with his daily Provision; 'till being condemned for delivering up *Scarborough* to the Service of his Majesty, in 1643, he was brought to the Scaffold on *Tower-Hill*, and Beheaded; not without the Love and Lamentation of the Seamen, who at present had in their Power no other Assistance than their good Wishes, to dedicate to his Service.

The Manner of the Sufferings and Death of the Right Honourable James Earl of Derby, upon the Scaffold at Bolton in Lancashire: Together with a true Copy of his Speech and Deportment, and Prayers before his Death, on Wednesday the 15th Day of October, 1651.

THE Earl of Derby (according to an Order of the Court Martial held at *Chester*, by which he was sentenced to die at *Bolton* in *Lancashire*) was brought to that Town with a Guard of Horse and Foot of Col. Jones's, commanded by one *Southley*, who received his Order from Col. *Robert Duckenfield*, betwixt Twelve and One of the Clock on *Wednesday* the 15th of *October*; the People weeping, praying, and bewailing him all the Way from the Prison at *Chester* to the Place of his Death.

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He was brought to a House in the Town near the Cross, where the Scaffold was raised ; and as he passed by, said, *VENIO, DOMINE, I am prepared to fulfil thy Will, O my God : This Scaffold must be my Cross ; blessed Saviour, I take it up willingly, and follow thee.* From thence going into a Chamber with some Friends and Servants, he was advertised by the Commander in Chief, that he had 'till Three of the Clock allowed him to prepare for Death ; for indeed the Scaffold was not ready, the People of the Town and Country generally refusing to carry so much as a Plank, or strike a Nail, or lend any Assistance to that Work ; their Cry being generally in the Streets, ' O sad Day ! O woful Day ! Shall the good Earl of Derby die here ? Many sad Losses have we had in this War, but none like unto this ; for now the ancient Honour of our Country must suffer here. ' And to add to his Trouble, most of the Timber that built the Scaffold was of the Ruins of *Latham House* : but nothing could alter his Lordship's Resolution and Courage ; for with a stedfast, composed, and chearful Countenance he called the Company which were present to Prayers with him, wherein he shewed admirable Fervency, and a kind of humble Importunity with Almighty God, that he would pardon his Sins, be merciful to his Soul, and be gracious to this Land, in restoring the King, Laws, and Liberty ; and that he would be a Husband to his Wife, a Father to his Children, and a Friend to all those that suffered by his Loss, or that had been Friends to him.

Rising from Prayer, he sat down with a very pleasing Countenance, and assured the Standers by, that God had heard his Prayers, which the blessed Spirit of God witnessed unto him in the present Comforts he now felt in his Soul : Then
he

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he entered into a Discourse of his Life, and beseeched God to forgive him the Days and Time he had mis-spent; and said, It was his Comfort, that although he had not walked so circumspectly as he ought to have done, yet he ever had a Sense of his Sins, and a tender Respect to all the Services, Servants, and Ordinances of his God; and that he knew God had Mercy for him, that he had strengthened and comforted him against all the Terrors of Death.

After these and some other Words to this Purpose, he desired his Friends, and the People by, to pray with him again; which when he had ended, rising from his Knees, he appeared fully satisfied of a gracious Return to his Prayers, and never after shewed any Sadness in his Countenance.

His next Business was with his Son the Lord *Strange*, whom he publickly charged to be dutiful to his *sad Mother*, affectionate to his *distressed Brothers and Sisters*, and studious of the Peace of his Country: But especially, said he, Son, I charge you, upon my Blessing, and upon the Blessing you expect from God, to be ever dutiful to your *distressed Mother*, ever obedient to her Commands, and ever tender how you in any thing grieve or offend her: She is a Person well known to the most eminent Personages of England, France, Germany, and Holland, noted for Piety, Prudence, and all honourable Virtues; and certainly, the more you are obedient to her, the more you will increase in Favour with God and Man.

Then he desired to be private in the Room himself; where he was observed to be about half an Hour upon his Knees, with frequent Interjections of Groans and Sighs before his God: Then, when he called the Company in again, his Eyes witnessed to us, that he had abundantly mixed Tears with his Prayers; he told us, That he was

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very willing to leave the World, being assured by the Testimony of God's Spirit, that he should be carried from Trouble to Rest and Peace, from Sorrow to Joy, from Life to Death ; and that Death had no Bitterness in it to him, but that it took him from his dear Wife and Children, whom he humbly commended to the Protection and Providence of a better *Husband*, and a better *Father* ; and that yet he did not doubt, but that the General, and they who sat in the Seat of Authority, would make Provision for them, hoping that his Death might satisfy all those who sought his Life, whom he freely forgave, and desired God to do the like. Then calling for his Son, he took his Leave of him, and blessed him ; which indeed would have grieved any one's Heart, tho' never so harden'd, to see the parting of him now with his Son ; and with his two Daughters, the Lady *Catharine*, and the Lady *Amely-Stanley*, upon the Road betwixt *Chester* and *Bolton* the Day before.

This ended, he called the Officer, and told him he was ready. In his Way to the Scaffold the People prayed, and wept, and cried aloud : To whom his Lordship, with a chearful Countenance, and courteous Humbleness, said, *Good People, I thank you, and I beseech you still pray for me, and our blessed God return your Prayers back into your own Bosoms : The God of Mercy bless you, the Son of God establish you in Righteousness, and the Holy Ghost fill you with all Comforts.* — Coming near the Scaffold, he looked up, and said, *God, I thank thee ; I am not afraid to go up here, though I am to die there ; there are but these few Steps to my Eternity.* Then kissing the Ladder, he went up, and saluted the People, and walked a Turn or two upon the Scaffold : Then went to the East-end of the Scaffold, and pulled off his
Hat

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Hat again, saluting the People with a chearful Countenance, and spoke as follows :

‘ I Am come, by the Will of my heavenly Father, to die in this Place ; and, I thank God, I do with all Willingness and Readiness submit to his most blessed Will : ’Tis a Place I desired to see when I was last in the Country, both for the mutual Obligations that have been betwixt this Town and my Family, as also for your particular Respects to me, whom I have understood to be ready to clear me from that foul Imputation, That I was a Man of Blood ; and that particularly, I kill’d one *Boottle* here in cool Blood. I doubt not but there are here many Men present, both that Day th’s Town was taking, and divers other times during this War, that can justify I preserved many Lives ; but I know there is not any one present that can lay the Blood of any Man whatsoever to my Charge, unless what might casually happen in the Fury and Heat of a Battle. And why I die in this Town, I know not, unless it be to persuade the Nation, that I fall as a Sacrifice for that Blood which some said I shed here ; for which I am acquitted before you, and from which I had also cleared myself before my grand Judges at *Westminster*, had they pleased to hear me, before they had destroyed me ; that Report being hastily brought up among them by some that I hope God hath forgiven ; and too readily drank in by others, whom I pray God to forgive.

‘ As for my Crime (as some are pleased to term it) which was objected against me by the Council of War, (for *Boottle*’s Death was never mention’d against me there, that being only secretly used to raise a Prejudice against me in

‘ the

186 *The Earl of Derby's Speech.*

' the Judgments of such as did not know me) my
 ' Crime, I say, though I hope it deserves a far
 ' better Name, was, that I came into my own
 ' Country with my own lawful King. I came
 ' in Obedience to his Majesty's Call, whom, both
 ' by the Laws of God, and the Laws of this
 ' Land, I conceived myself obliged to obey ;
 ' and according to the *Protestation* I took in Par-
 ' liament, in the Time of that blessed Prince his
 ' Father : so, if it be my Crime, I have confess'd
 ' it again before God, Angels, and Men, *That*
 ' *I love Monarchy as the best Government*, and I
 ' die with Love and Honour, and for the Love
 ' and Honour I bear to my Master, that now is,
 ' *Charles the Second of that Name, whom I my-*
 ' *self in this Country proclaimed King* ; the Lord
 ' bless and preserve him, and incline the Hearts
 ' of those that have Power in this Nation, to ac-
 ' cept him to his Father's Throne, with Honour
 ' and Peace : for certainly, as I believe, this
 ' Nation will never be well-contented, never
 ' thoroughly happy, without a King ; so I be-
 ' lieve also, that King *Charles the Second*, our
 ' now lawful King, were he a Stranger to this
 ' Crown, were the most fit, and most accom-
 ' plish'd Prince that this Day lives, to take the
 ' Government of this People ; his admirable
 ' Piety, Virtue, Justice, great Valour, and Dis-
 ' cretion, far above so few Years, do now make
 ' him, in all Places he comes, highly beloved,
 ' and will hereafter make him honourable among
 ' all Nations : and I wish the People of this Na-
 ' tion so much Happiness, (when my Eyes are
 ' closed) that he may peaceably be received to
 ' the Enjoyment of his just Right, and then they
 ' shall never want their just Right, which 'till
 ' then they will always want.

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• As for my being in Arms in the Beginning
• of this War, I profess here, in the Presence of
• my God, before whom, in a few Minutes, I
• must make an Account for this Profession, I
• only sought for Peace, and settling the late
• King my Master in his just Rights, and the
• Maintenance of the Laws of the Land;
• and that I had no other Design, Intent, or
• Purpose for my then taking up Arms. And
• as for this last Engagement, I profess here
• again, in the Presence of the same God, that
• I did it for the restoring of my lawful Sovereign
• into that Throne, out of which his Father was
• most unchristianly and barbarously taken, by
• the most unjust Sentence of a pretended Court
• of Justice; and himself, against Law and all
• Justice, kept out and dispossessed of: and this
• was all my Reason. For as for Estate or Qua-
• lity, I wanted not a sufficient Competency,
• neither was I ever ambitious to enlarge either;
• for, by the Favour of my King's Predecessors,
• my Family was raised to a Condition well
• known in this Country; and now it is as well
• known, that by his Enemies I am adjudged
• to die, and that by new and monstrous Laws,
• as making me an Enemy to my Country, for
• fighting for my Country; as a Traitor to the
• Laws, for endeavouring to preserve the Laws:
• But, O God! give me Grace to consider Him who
• suffered such Contradiction of Sinners; and, O my
• God, assert the King to his Father's Throne, assert
• the Laws to their former Honour, and restore thy
• own Religion in its Purity; that all these Shadows
• and false Pretences of Religion may vanish away,
• and our Childrens Posterities may serve Thee in
• Spirit, and in Truth.

• Good

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‘ Good Friends, I die for the * King, the
 ‘ Laws of the Land, and the Protestant Religion
 ‘ maintained in the Church of England; all which
 ‘ as I was ready to maintain with my Life, so I
 ‘ chearfully suffer for them in this welcome
 ‘ Death ’ —

* At which Words, King and Laws, a Trooper
 said aloud, We will have neither King, Lord, nor
 Laws; and upon a sudden, the Soldiers being either
 surprized with Fear at a strange Noise that was heard,
 or else falling into Mutiny, riding up and down the
 Streets, cutting and slashing the People, some being
 kill'd, and many wounded; his Lordship looking upon
 this sad Spectacle, said thus: ‘ Gentlemen, it troubles
 ‘ me more than my own Death, that others are hurt,
 ‘ and I fear die for me; I beseech you stay your
 ‘ Hands, I fly not, you pursue not me, and here are
 ‘ none to pursue you.’ But being interrupted in his
 Speech, and not permitted to go on further, (for which
 the Officers were much troubled) he turned aside to his
 Servant, and gave him the Speech into his Hand, say-
 ing, ‘ I will speak to my God, who I know will bear
 ‘ me, and when I am dead, let the World know what
 ‘ I would have said.’ Here his Lordship was inter-
 rupted, but it was as follows in his own Copy, under
 his own Hand:

— ‘ I am sentenced to Death by a Council of
 ‘ War, after Quarter for Life, and Assurance of
 ‘ honourable and safe Usage by Captain Edge. I
 ‘ had Reason to have expected the Council would
 ‘ have justified my Plea, which hath been ancient,
 ‘ honourable, sacred, and inviolable, until this
 ‘ Time that I am made the first suffering Prece-
 ‘ dent: For I dare affirm it, that never Gentle-
 ‘ man before in any Christian Nation was ad-
 ‘ judged to Death by a Council of War after
 ‘ Quarter

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‘ Quarter given ; I am the first, and I pray God
‘ I may be the last Precedent in this Case : I
‘ must die, and I thank God I am ready for it ;
‘ Death would now be my Choice, had I the
‘ whole World in Competition with it. I leave
‘ nothing behind me which I much care for,
‘ but my King, my Wife, my Children, my
‘ Friends, whom I trust the never-failing Mercies
‘ of my God will provide for : I beseech God
‘ shew Mercy to those, who neither had Mercy
‘ nor Justice to me : My blessed Saviour taught
‘ me by his Example and Command, both to
‘ pray for my Enemies, and to forgive my Ene-
‘ mies : I forgive them freely, even those that
‘ contrived my Ruin, and pursued me to Death :
‘ I thank God I never personally offended them to
‘ my Knowledge in my Life, and let me not of-
‘ fend against them at my Death : I forgive them
‘ freely, and pray God for Christ’s sake to for-
‘ give them also.

‘ Of my Faith and Religion I shall not, I
‘ hope, need to say much ; herein I hope my
‘ Enemies, if now I have any, will speak for me.
‘ I profess my Faith to be in God only, from
‘ whom I look for my Salvation, through the
‘ precious Merits and Sufferings of my blessed
‘ Saviour Jesus Christ, which Merits and Suffer-
‘ ings, I hope, are applied to my Soul by the blef-
‘ sed Spirit of Comfort, the Spirit of God, by
‘ whom I am assured in my own Soul, that my
‘ God is reconciled unto me in Jesus Christ my
‘ blessed Redeemer.

‘ I die a dutiful Son to the Church of *England*,
‘ as it was established in that blessed Prince my
‘ late Master’s Reign, which all Men of Learn-
‘ ing and Temperance will acknowledge to be the
‘ most pure and agreeable to the Word of God,
‘ and primitive Government, of any Church with-

‘ in

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‘ in Twelve or Thirteen Hundred Years since
 ‘ Christ, and which (to my great Comfort) I
 ‘ left established in the *Isle of Man*; God preserve
 ‘ it there, and restore it to this Nation.

‘ And, O blessed God, I magnify thy Name,
 ‘ that thou gavest me the Happiness and Mercy
 ‘ to be born in a Christian Nation, and in a Na-
 ‘ tion where thy Truth was professed in Purity:
 ‘ With Honour to thy Name, and Comfort to
 ‘ thy People, I ascribe the Comforts of thy holy
 ‘ Spirit, which I feel in my Bosom, to the Mi-
 ‘ nistry of thy Word and Sacraments conveyed
 ‘ unto me in thy Church, and made effectual by
 ‘ the Operation of the same blessed Spirit. In
 ‘ this Faith, good People, I have lived, and in
 ‘ this I die: Pray for me, I beseech you, and the
 ‘ God of Mercies hear your Prayers and my
 ‘ Prayers, for mine and your Salvation.’

Presently after the Tumult was over, his Lord-
 ship called for the Headsman, and asked to see
 the Axe; and taking it in his Hand, said, *Friend,*
I will not hurt it, and I am sure it cannot hurt me;
 and then kissing it, said, *Metbinks this is as a Wed-*
ding Ring, which is as a Sign I am to leave all the
World, and eternally to be married to my Saviour.
 Then putting his Hand in his Pocket, said to the
 Headsman, *Here, Friend, take these two Pieces, all*
that I have, thou must be my Priest, I pray thee do
thy Work well and effectually. Then handling the
 rough furr’d Coat the Headsman had on, *This,*
says he, will be troublesome to thee, I pray thee put
it off, and do it as willingly as I put off this Garment
of my Flesh, that is now so heavy for my Soul. Then
 some of the Standers-by bad the Headsman kneel
 and ask his Lordship Pardon; but he did not,
 and was surly and crabbed: But his Lordship
 said, *Friend, I give thee the Pardon thou wilt not ask,*
and

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and God forgive thee also. Then turning up his Eyes to Heaven, said aloud, *How long, Lord, how long?* Then gently passing over the Scaffold, and seeing one of his Chaplains on Horseback among the People, Good Sir, said he, *pray for me, and the Lord return your Prayers into your own Bosom, and I pray remember me kindly to your Brother, and God remember him for his Love to me and mine.*

Then turning towards his Coffin, *Thou art,* said he, *my Bridal Chamber, in thee I shall rest without a Guard, and sleep without Soldiers.*

Then looking towards the Block, he asked if all were ready: *That,* said he, *methinks is very low, and yet there is but one Step betwixt that and Heaven;* then turning his Eyes to the People, he saluted them, and desired again their Prayers; then said, *I see your Tears, and hear your Sighs, and Groans, and Prayers: The God of Heaven hear and grant your Supplications for me, and mine for you, and the Mediation of Christ Jesus for us all.*

Here his Lordship caused the Block to be turned, that he might look upon the Church, saying, *Whilst I am here I will look towards thy holy Sanctuary, and I know that within a few Minutes, I shall behold thee my God and King in thy Sanctuary above, under the Shadow of thy Wings shall be my Rest, till this Calamity be over-past.* Then he pulled off his Blue Garter, and sent it to his Son, and pulling off his Doublet, with a very religious Chearfulness he said, *I come, Lord Jesus, and O come thou quickly, that I may be with thee for ever:* Upon this he said, *Pray tell me how I must lie, I have been called a bloody Man, yet truly I never yet had that severe Curiosity to see any Man put to Death in Peace:* Then laying himself down on the Block, after a few Minutes he rose again, and caused the Block to be a little removed; then said to the Headf-man, *Friend, remember what I said to thee; and be*

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no more afraid to strike than I to die ; and when I put up my Hand, do thy Work. So looking round about upon his Friends, and the People, he said, *The Lord blefs you all, and once more pray for me and with me ;* at which Words, he kneeled down, and prayed privately within himself, with great Sighing, about half a Quarter of an Hour, concluding with the Lord's Prayer ; then rising up again, he said, (smilingly) *My Soul is now at Rest, and so shall my Body be immediately. The Lord blefs my King, and restore him to his Right in this Kingdom, and the Lord blefs this Kingdom, and restore them to their Rights in their King, that he and they may join Hand in Hand to settle Truth and Peace ; and the Lord blefs this Country, and this Town, and this People. The Lord comfort my sad Wife and Children, and reward all my Friends with Peace and Happiness, both here and hereafter, and the Lord forgive them who were the Cause and Authors of this my sad End and unjust Death ; for so it is to Mankind, though before God I deserve much worse, but I hope my Sins are all bathed in the Blood of Jesus Christ.* So laying his Neck upon the Block, and his Arms stretched out, he said these Words :

Blessed be God's Glorious Name for ever and ever. Let the whole Earth be filled with his Glory. Amen, Amen.

At which Words he gave the Headsman the Sign ; but he either not observing it, or not being ready, stayed too long, so that his Lordship rose up again, saying, ' Why do you keep me ' from my Saviour ? What have I done that I die ' not, and that I may live with him ? Once more ' I will lay myself down in Peace, and so take ' my everlasting Rest.' Then saying, *Come, Lord Jesus, come quickly,* he stretched out his Arms,

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Arms, and gave the Sign, repeating the same Words:

*Blessed be God's Glorious Name for ever and ever.
Let the whole Earth be filled with his Glory. Amen,
Amen.*

Then lifting up his Hand, the Executioner did his Work at one Blow, all the People weeping and crying, and giving all Expressions of Grief and Lamentation.

When the Corps was taken off the Scaffold, they carried it to a House in the Town, where were thrown into his Coffin, in a Piece of Paper, these two Lines:

Upon JAMES Earl of DERBY.

*Bounty, Wit, Courage, all (bere) in one lie Dead,
A Stanley's Hand, Vere's Heart, and Cecil's Head.*

The Sentence of the Council of War.

Resolved by the Court upon the Question,

THAT James Earl of Derby is guilty of the Breach of the Act of the 12th of August, 1651. last past, entituled, *An Act prohibiting Correspondence with Charles Stuart, or his Party*; and so of High Treason against the Commonwealth of England, and is therefore worthy of Death.

Resolved by the Court,

THAT the said James Earl of Derby is a Traitor to the Commonwealth of England, and an Abettor, Encourager, and Assister of the declared Traitors and Enemies thereof, and shall be

O

put

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put to Death, by severing his Head from his Body, at the Market-place in the Town of *Bolton* in *Lancashire*, upon *Wednesday* the 15th Day of this Instant *October*, about the Hour of One of the Clock the same Day.

The Execution of Capt. Symkins, and Sir Timothy Fetherstonhaugh, who was beheaded at Chester: As likewise of Colonel Benbow, who was shot to Death at Shrewsbury in October 1651.

BEfore the same Court Martial that had adjudged the Earl of *Derby* to Death at *Chester*, divers other *English* Prisoners taken at *Newport*, &c. were brought, Ten whereof were condemn'd by virtue of the Act against holding Correspondence with the King, and Five executed, among whom was one Capt. *Symkins*, formerly Governor of *Beaumaris*, who was shot to Death for carrying a Letter from the King to Sir *Thomas Middleton*. Soon after Sir *Timothy Fetherstonhaugh* fell a Sacrifice to rebellious Rage, being sentenc'd by the same Court to lose his Head for his Loyalty to his Sovereign, and accordingly laid down his Life at *Chester*, which he had ventured magnanimously in the Field at *Wiggan* in *Lancashire*, with the Earl of *Derby*, with whom he was taken Prisoner. At his fatal Sentence he denounced Judgment on the Murderers that pass'd it; setting forth the Foulness of their Fact with as much Power on their Consciences, as they did his Loyalty upon his Person, and praying as heartily for the King then in Danger, as for his own Soul, doing all he could honourably to save his Life, that he might not be *Felo de se*; and nothing dishonourably, that he

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he might not be a Traitor to his Allegiance: Nor is the brave Colonel *Benbow* to be forgotten, who was sentenc'd likewise by the same Court to be shot to Death at *Shrewsbury*, having been observ'd to be very active in the Engagement at *Worcester*.

I cannot better conclude this Account of the three aforesaid Sufferers, (who lost their Lives in *Oct.* 1651.) than with the following Relation of the desperate State of the Royal Party at that Time, in the Words of my Lord *Clarendon*:
' When *Cromwell* returned to *London*, he caused
' several High Courts of Justice to be erected,
' by which many Gentlemen of Quality were
' condemn'd and executed in many Parts of the
' Kingdom, as well as in *London*, who had been
' taken Prisoners at *Worcester*, or discovered to
' have been there. And that the Terror might
' be universal, some suffered for loose Discourses
' in Taverns, what they would do towards restoring the King; and others for having blank
' Commissions found in their Hands sign'd by the
' King, tho' they never had attempted to do any
' thing thereupon, nor for ought appear'd, intended to do. And under these desolate Apprehensions all the Royal and Loyal Party lay
' groveling and prostrate after the Defeat at *Worcester*. '

An Account of the Sufferings of Col. John Gerard, and Mr. Peter Vowel, the first being Beheaded on Tower-Hill, July the 10th, 1654, the latter Hang'd the same Day at Charing-Cross.

NO sooner had *Cromwell* concluded a Peace with the *Dutch*, but in order to the Establishment of his Empire at Home, a High Court of Justice

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Justice was erected for the Tryal of Persons accus'd of ' Holding Correspondence with *Charles Stuart*, and for having a Design against the Life ' of the *Protector*, to seize upon the Tower, and ' to proclaim the King. ' The chief Persons they accus'd of this, were *Mr. Gerard*, a young Gentleman of a good Family, who had been an Ensign in the King's Army, but was not at present above Twenty-two Years of Age; the other, one *Mr. Vowel*, who kept a School, and taught many Boys about *Islington*.

Mr. Gerard was charg'd with ' having been at ' *Paris*, and having spoken there with the King; ' which he confess'd, and declar'd, ' That he went to ' *Paris* about a Business that concerned himself ' (which he named) and when he had dispatch'd it, ' and was to return for *England*, he desired the Lord ' *Gerard*, his Kinsman, to present him to the King, ' that he might kiss his Hand; which he did in a ' large Room, where were many present; and ' that when he asked his Majesty, whether he ' would command him in any Service in *England*? his Majesty bid him to commend him to ' his Friends there, and to engage them that they ' should be quiet, and not engage themselves in ' any Plots; which must prove ruinous to them, ' and could do the King no Good. ' However, this High Court of Justice received Proof, that *Mr. Gerard* and *Mr. Vowel* had been present with some other Gentlemen at a Tavern, where Discourse had been held, ' How easy a Thing it was ' to kill the *Protector*, and at the same time to ' seize upon the Tower of *London*; and that, if ' at the same time the King were proclaim'd, the ' City of *London* would presently declare for his ' Majesty, and no body would oppose him. '

Upon this Evidence, these two Gentlemen were condemn'd to be hang'd; and upon the Tenth of
July,

July, about two Months after they had been in Prison, a Gallows was erected at *Charing-Cross*; whither Mr. *Vowel* was brought; who was a Person utterly unknown to the King, and to any Person entrusted by him, but very worthy to have his Name and Memory preserv'd in the List of those, who shew'd most Magnanimity and Courage in sacrificing their Lives for the Crown. He expressed a marvellous Contempt of Death; 'which, he said, he suffered without having committed any Fault.' He profess'd his Duty to the King, and Reverence to the Church; and earnestly and pathetically advis'd the People to return to their Fidelity to both; 'which, he told them, they would at last be compelled to do after all their Sufferings.' He address'd himself most to the Soldiers, telling them, 'How unworthily they prostituted themselves to serve the Ambition of an unworthy Tyrant; and conjur'd them to forsake him, and to serve the King; which he was sure they would do at last.' And so having devoutly recommended the King, and the Kingdom, and himself to God, in very pious Prayers, he ended his Life with as much Christian Resolution, as can be expected from the most composed Conscience.

The *Protector* was prevailed with to shew more Respect to Mr. *Gerard*, in causing him to be beheaded; who was brought the Afternoon of the same Day to a Scaffold upon *Tower-hill*: But they were so ill pleased with the Behaviour of him who suffered in the Morning, that they would not permit the other to speak to the People; so I shall present the Reader with the following Account of him.

The Last Dying Speech and Behaviour of Col. John Gerard, who was Beheaded on Tower-Hill, July the 10th, 1654, as published by his Friends.

FROM the first Day of his Imprisonment he foresaw the heavy Sentence hovering over him, and therefore gave all Diligence to secure himself against it; that however he underwent a temporal Condemnation, he might escape an eternal. But after that sad Doom was pronounced, then he bestirred himself amain, and made double Hasten for Heaven; it was for his Life, and therefore he would not lose a Minute, but the same Night gave Directions to a dear Friend for a Minister (whom he knew to have long honoured his Family) to be brought to him early next Morning: and it pleased Authority to gratify him in this great Desire, so that an Order was sent freely for the quiet Admission of any such Person to him. With this spiritual Friend he spent some Hours every Day in Prayer, and other ghostly Refreshments; which (God be praised) were not without sweet Effect and Impressions upon his Soul. There were some other Mr. Bond, and Ministers of great Observation Mr. Caril. for Gravity and Godliness in these Times, who visited him, and who, I am confident, will put their Seal to this Truth with me, that they found him meek, humble, modest, penitent, comforted, and not far from the Kingdom of God, if not already in it: but I have good Hope he was in Possession, and so had he, through Grace. Upon the Morning, (which was the last he must see 'till that of the

the Resurrection) he submitted to some wholesome Orders of the Church, and received her Comforts by them. This done, he proceeded to (the highest Enjoyment of Grace that can be administered upon Earth) the holy Communion; whereof, with his Brother Sir Gilbert Gerard, he was a Partaker, with as much Reverence, Zeal, Thankfulness, holy Sorrows, and holy Joys, as a devout Soul could evidence. He wept as if he would have washed his Saviour's Wounds, which his Faith presented, in his Tears; and yet he said he was admirably ravished with all inward Peace and Comfort in his own Conscience. This passed, he had now nothing to do but to die, which he expected that Morning very speedily: but, by the Pleasure of Authority, both the Time and the Place of his Execution was altered; so that he was to wait a little longer, until Evening, for his Release. Many Friends and Persons of Honour came to take their last Leave of him, who can gladly witness his Undisturbedness and civil Cheerfulness to every one of them. His Brother tarried continually with him; and though some Eruptions of Passions could not be restrained now and then, where Nature was so much concerned, yet they were generally pleasant, and at last parted (about half an Hour before he was led forth to Death) with as much Calmness and Placidness, as if they had been to meet again anon safe and unhurt, as they had done formerly. So have I seen a windy and stormy Day concluding in Stilness and Sun-shine, as if weary, and desiring to rest, without any Breath of Trouble. The Minister only waited on him to the last; and about five o' Clock enter the Lieutenant of the Tower, and the Sheriff of London, two sure Friends, that will not leave him as long as he hath Life remaining in him: They told him a four Message, that they

they were come to conduct him to his Death's Blow. He replied, They were very welcome; and receiv'd them so fearless and untroubled, that the Sheriff told the Minister, *That he was sorry to see him so unfit for that Condition.* But (under Favour) he mistook his Condition; that which he accounted Fitness to die, our Pamphlet-mongers would have called Flagging and Cowardice. So hard a thing it is to satisfy all Curiosities, even with our Blood; and nothing more ingenious than to carry this bitter Cup even, when so many Misconstructions shake it. At his Lodging, he desired the Sheriff, that he would permit the Minister, and three others that were his Friends and Servants, to go upon the Scaffold with him: which as it was seasonable Wisdom in him to desire, so was it a fortunate Kindness from them that granted it; else, it may be, their Testimony might have been wanting to his injured Reputation. He took Leave particularly of the Household where he was a Prisoner, and was so clearly collected in every thing he did, that he went out of his Way into the Kitchen to bid his Landlady farewell, giving Thanks for her Respects during his Bonds, which, he said, he should die in to her. As he passed by the Guards in the Tower, he gave them Money twice, and told them, he should trouble them no longer, being on his Remove to better Guards. He walked along to the Scaffold on *Tower-Hill*, shewing a great deal both of Humility and Respect to the People, who generally lamented him, and prayed for him. As he went, he was bare-headed for the most part, carrying his Hat in his Hand, and sometimes resting it in a careless Bravery on his Left Side. When he came to (or rather leap'd upon) the Scaffold, (for he was far from flagging when about to tread that tragical Stage, that many observ'd how sprightly he seemed

seemed to skip up the Steps to it, as if he had gone to dance three, rather than to die) his grim Executioner presented himself to him, to whom, with a chearful Smile, he said, *Welcome, honest Friend ;* and desiring to see the Axe, he took it into his Hands, and kissing it, with a pretty Glance of his Eye (which was a natural Loveliness in him) towards the Minister, he said, *This will do the Deed, I'll warrant it.* The Scaffold was very much crouded with People, yet, as well as he could, he made some Turns to and fro upon it, with a Paper (which he had taken out of his Pocket) in his Hand, wherein it seems he had prepared some Heads of a Speech, which he intended to have delivered : but the Sheriff and Lieutenant told him, If he spoke any thing, it must be very brief, and that they must not suffer him to speak any thing that was seditious. *Well, Gentlemen,* said he, *your Will be done ; but, God be praised, I never yet had to do with any thing that was seditious ! I would fain have spoken something to clear myself to the World, according to the Custom, if it might have been : But come, Sir,* said he, turning to the Minister, *let you and I speak to Him that will give us Leave ;* and so kneeling down together in a Corner of the Stage, the Minister prayed with him a short time : which done, they stood up again. Then turning himself to the People, and putting off his Hat, he told them, *That he was not permitted to speak a few Words according to his Intention, yet he doubted not but what he would have said would come to their Eyes, though it must not come to their Ears : But this I desire all to take notice of, and this he spoke with a double Vehemence, That I die a faithful Subject and Servant to King Charles II. whom I pray God to bless and restore to his Rights ; and had I ten thousand thousand Lives, I would gladly lay them all down thus for his Service.*

Here

Here he was interrupted ; and the Sheriff wished him rather to confess what he knew concerning the horrid Plot he was condemned for. He answered, *That he had confessed all that he knew concerning any Plot ; That he thought they knew more of the Plot that condemn'd him, than he did, but he heartily forgave them.* The Minister told him, It was well done to forgive and pardon those that persecute us ; this was an Act of Christian Love : but as his Case stood, Love was not enough ; he ought to deal in this Business upon which his Life lay, with all Candour and Sincerity, not concealing any thing of that Nature as was charged against him, as far as he might glorify God, and serve the Publick Good. Upon which, lifting up his Eyes towards Heaven, and laying his Hand upon his Breast, *Ob, Sir, said he, if there had been any such thing in this Breast, would I not have revealed it before this time ! I protest, in the Sight of Almighty God, I knew no more of any such Design, but only what I have often acknowledged, that it was motioned only to me by Henshaw, who, I confidently believe, is in their Hands, and debated twice or thrice when I was with him ; but I never entertained it at all, and at the last flatly disown'd it, and told him I would have nothing to do in it. He was many times pressing me to nominate what Persons I knew I could bring, and to have their Names ; but let them shew any such thing, if they can, against me : but I am certain he is in their Hands.* Pausing here a little, and fetching a Turn or two upon the Scaffold, being very hot, as he had been all that Morning, he called for some Small-Beer, which he had given Order to be ready, and was brought thither in a Stone-bottle, of which he drank a little once or twice. Then the Minister went to him, and minded him, that something might be expected from him as to his Religion, and Disposition to die. To which (gathering up
an

an extraordinary Resolution in his Face) he reply'd, *I die a Christian, a true Christian, according to that Faith and Religion which was professed in the Church of England in the Time of our late King, of blessed Memory: And I praise God, I am so fitted and ready to die, that I am confident, by the Merits of Christ Jesus, that my Sins are pardoned, and my Salvation is at Hand.* Then turning about, he call'd for his Waistcoat and Cap, and, throwing off his Doublet, put them on, whilst his Servants help'd to put up his Hair. His Waistcoat was not very clean, which he took notice of to his Man; *But 'tis no great Matter,* said he; *if the Heart be clean, all's well enough.* Being thus prepared, he call'd for the Block, and viewing it, (as with Delight) laid himself down upon it to see how it would fit, and was so far from sinking at the Sight of it, that he almost play'd with it; and rising quickly, pulls a little Paper-book out of his Pocket, which he gave to the Minister, willing him to find that particular Prayer which was proper for that Occasion: but the Crowd being great, he could not quickly find it, so that he kneeled down with the Book open awhile in his Hand, as if he had read; but quickly shut it, and prayed with great Expressions of Fervency by himself. When he had done, the Lieutenant said something to him (as it seems) concerning his Brother Charles, that had witnessed against him; (I know not what the Lieutenant said, for he spake low) but Mr. Gerard spake aloud, and replied passionately, *O Christ! Sir, I love my poor Brother with all my Heart; he is but a Youth, and was terrified; I know how he was dealt with. Tell him, I love him as well as ever I lov'd him in my Life: And commend me to my Brother Sir Gilbert, whose Release I beseech you, Sir, to assist; there being no more Cause, that I know of, for his Imprisonment,*
than

than only that he was found in the same Bed with me, which sure is no capital Crime. Having said this, he took his Leave of him, and the Sheriff, and all he knew on the Stage: And turning about once more to the People, desired them to pray for him; himself kneeling down with the Minister, laid his Hand in his Bosom, and they prayed together the last Time. After this, he bad them all farewell again, and besought them to remember they had a poor Sovereign abroad, who deserved to be remembered. Then forgiving the Executioner, and saluting the Minister, with his last Embrace and Kisses, he bow'd himself to the Stroke of Death, with as much Christian Meekness and noble Courage mix'd together, as I believe was ever seen in any that had bled upon that Altar. And this all the People that were Spectators did seem to understand and acknowledge, beholding his fatal Blow with an universal Sadness and Silence.

What he intended to have spoke to the Publick, but was not permitted, is as follows:

Gentlemen,

‘ **A**S this Kind of Spectacle is no new Entertainment to your Eyes, for you have had a late
 ‘ Glut of such Objects; so it is no strange thing
 ‘ to me to be made such a Spectacle: For I have
 ‘ been bred upon the Theatre of Death, and
 ‘ have learned that Part so well, tho’ I confess a
 ‘ very hard one, as to perform it pretty handsomely, both as a Gentleman and a Christian.

‘ Only I must desire you to expect no fine Prologue or Speech from me; I never studied to
 ‘ make Orations; a very unfit Man to lay Plots
 ‘ against a State, who am scarce able to lay a few
 ‘ Lines of plain *English* together, as I ought: But
 ‘ though I cannot speak happily, I doubt not but
 ‘ I shall die happily.

‘ I confess myself a great Sinner, Who is innocent? God be merciful to me a miserable Sinner. I adore the Justice of God in all this that is come upon me; I have deserved to die long since; and blessed be God who hath given me such Time to prepare. But for this Crime I stand condemned for To-day, I do protest mine own Innocency, as to any Consent or Engagement to act in it.

‘ I hope you will believe me, when you consider upon what slender Proofs and Testimonies I suffer; none of them legal or positive, but circumstantial.

‘ For my Brother *Charles*, Alas, poor Youth, how he was wrought upon! But I desire all my Friends to think honourably of him, as likewise of my Brother *Sir Gilbert*.

‘ This Imagination of a Plot is said to be hatched in *France*. I fear the Nest was at *Whitehall*.

‘ As for the King—so far from concurring to such a Deed, that I am only unsatisfied in this, whether I shall die right in his Favour, because suspected of any thing so unworthy of him.

‘ I fear he lost his Kingdoms by such Practices, but whether he would recover them so, is a Question: God hath better Ways, when it shall be good in his Sight to plead his Cause.

‘ I was lately in *France*, but on my own Score; for I have commanded there, and probably might.

‘ For my past Life, it hath been but a troublesome one, but now I hope I shall rest. Since I was any thing, I have served the King, as I am bound; and I wish all that did so, had done it as faithfully: He was condemn’d for a Tyrant, but God—

‘ For

' For my Religion, though a Soldier, I am
 ' able to profess I am a Christian Soldier, a true
 ' Son of the Church of *England*, as constituted
 ' under Queen *Elizabeth*, King *James*, and King
 ' *Charles*, of blessed Memory. Her Doctrine and
 ' Government I embrace, her Truth and Peace
 ' I pray God to restore.

' I humbly give Thanks to God Almighty, for
 ' providing me the Comfort of a Minister, on
 ' whose Fidelity I might repose my Soul.

' And I pray God to bless the poor faithful Mi-
 ' nisters of this Church, and give you Hearts to
 ' esteem them; the Want whereof is no small
 ' Reason of our Misery.

' My Days have been few and evil, yet God
 ' be blessed, in all the Vanities and Folly of
 ' Youth, I have been far from Atheism, or Con-
 ' tempt of God's Worship; I had always awful
 ' Impressions of God's Honour and Service,
 ' which is now my Comfort.

' And now, dear Countrymen, fare you well,
 ' I pray God bless you all, and this whole Na-
 ' tion.

' Alas, poor *England*! When will these black
 ' Days be over! When will there be Blood
 ' enough! I wish mine might fill up the Measure.
 ' I forgive all.

' Once more fare you well; commend me to
 ' all my Friends, pray for me.

' I pray God make you as faithful and loyal as
 ' I have lived, and as happy as I shall be by-and-
 ' by, when I am dead.

' Come, Lord Jesus, come quickly.

' Father of Mercies, have Mercy on me.

' Saviour of the World, save my Soul.

' O Lamb of God, that takest away the Sins of
 ' the World, hear my Prayers.

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‘ Into thy Hands, O Lord, I commend my Spirit.

‘ Lord Jesus, receive my Soul. ’

The Execution of Mr. Lucas, who was Beheaded, and of Mr. Kensley, Mr. Thorpe, John Fryer, and John Lawrence, who were hanged at Salisbury in May, 1655.

THere cannot be a greater Manifestation of the universal Prejudice and Aversion in the whole Kingdom towards *Cromwell*, and his Government, than that there should be so many Designs and Conspiracies against him. The Insurrection in the *West*, in which so many Persons of considerable Figure were engag’d, was no little Surprise to him, especially at a time when he knew not how to trust his Army in a collected Body. But all this Apprehension vanish’d, when it was known, that within four or five Hours after the King had been proclaim’d in one of his chief Cities, *viz. Salisbury*, (while his Judges, and all the Civil Power of that County, that were in it, were taken Prisoners) they had left it in Disorder and Confusion among themselves, and marched to *Chard* in *Somersetshire*, thence to *Southmolton* in *Devonshire*, where being overpower’d by Captain *Unton Crook*, *Penruddock* and *Grove*, with others, (several Gentlemen of Note making their Escape) they yielded upon Quarter for Life. No sooner was *Cromwell* appriz’d of this cheap Victory, but Commissioners were forthwith dispatch’d for the Tryal of the Insurrectors; and accordingly they first sat at *Salisbury*, April 12, 1655. Judge *Windham* President, *Dove* High Sheriff, and the Jury like him; where they
condemned

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condemned six, five of whom were put to Death, whose Names thus stand upon Record: 1. Mr. *John Lucas*, a Mercer, of a very good Estate and Quality in *Hungerford*, a plain and understanding Man, who unfortunately stayed in Town when it was in his Power to have made his Escape; there was great Interest us'd for a Reprieve, which was expected by the Prisoner, but he was basely disappointed; and being somewhat of a superior Rank to the others, had the Favour of being beheaded. 2. Mr. *Kensley*, a Gentleman, (as they say of the *French*) in a manner born with his Sword by his Side, a modest Man, that understood the World, and chearfully resign'd himself to the Divine Will in his last Moments. 3. Mr. *Tborpe*, 4. *John Fryer*, 5. *John Lawrence*, Persons, who tho' they had no Pedigrees to boast of, yet have this Honour, that the chief of their Judges lived to beg his Pardon and Life with Tears, for condemning them, when the most inconsiderable of them scorn'd to beg their Lives of him; and are Instances of Monsieur *Charron's* Tenet of Nobility, 'That there may be mean Persons of the noblest Extraction, and noble Persons of the meanest.'

The TRYAL and Illegal Proceedings against the Honourable Colonel John Penruddock, before the Commissioners of Oyer and Terminer, in the Castle of Exon, April 19. 1655.

Also the LETTERS betwixt him and his Wife, during the Time of his Sufferings.

Together with the true Copy of his SPEECH on the Scaffold before he was beheaded, in the Castle of Exon, the 16th Day of May, 1655.

Published by his Friends from his own Papers.

UPON *Thursday* the 19th of *April*, 1655, the Commissioners of Oyer and Terminer being sat in the Castle of *Exon*, summoned before them myself, Mr. *Hugh Grove*, Mr. *Richard Reeves*, Mr. *Robert Duke*, Mr. *George Duke*, Mr. *Thomas Fitz-James*, Mr. *Francis Jones*, Mr. *Edward Davis*, Mr. *Thomas Poulton*, and Mr. *Francis Bennett*. Being all called to the Bar, we were commanded to hold up our Hands, and an Indictment of High Treason was read against us: And being asked whether we would plead Guilty or Not guilty to the Indictment; in the Behalf of myself, and of the Gentlemen therein charged, I spake as followeth:

Col. Penruddock. My Lords, though my Education hath been such, as not to give me those Advantages which the Knowledge of the Laws would have assisted me with, for the defending myself, yet upon hearing this very Indictment, my Reason tells me, that it is illegal; and there-

P

fore

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fore I do demand Council, that may dispute the Illegality thereof.

Serjeant Glyn. Sir, you desire that which cannot be granted; therefore give your Answer, whether you are Guilty or Not guilty of the Treason of which you stand charged.

Col. Pen. Sir, by your Favour, it is that which has been granted to my Inferiors, viz. to Mr. *Lisburn*, and to one *Rolf*, a Shoemaker, and I have as great a Right to the Laws as any Person that sits here as my Judge; I do therefore challenge it as my Right. Judge *Nicholas*, whom I there see, will tell you, he himself was Council for this *Rolf*; and it is a hard Case, if a free-born Gentleman of *England* cannot have the same Privilege that his Inferiors have had before him.

Attorney General. Sir, there is a great Difference between Treason acting and acted; the latter is your Case; therefore flatter not yourself, and do not think your being mute shall save your Estate in case of Treason; for if you plead not to the Indictment, Sentence will be pronounced against you, as if you had been found guilty of the Fact you are charged with.

Col. Pen. Sir, I observe your Distinction; but all the Logick you have, shall not make me, nor any rational Man acknowledge, that this was either acting or acted; before it be proved, Sir, it is but a bare Suspicion, and I hope you will not condemn me before I am convicted: I say the Indictment is illegal, and I do demand Council.

At. Gen. Sir, the Court must not be dallied withal: I do peremptorily demand of you, Are you Guilty or Not guilty? If you plead, you may have Favour, otherwise we shall proceed to Sentence.

Col. Pen. Sir, put the Case I do plead, shall I then have Council allowed me?

At.

Col. Penruddock's Tryal. 211

At. Gen. Sir, the Court makes no Bargains, refer yourself to us.

Hereupon my Fellow prisoners perswaded me to plead *Not guilty*: Which being done, I demanded Council, as being partly promised it. *Mr. Attorney* told me, I could have none. Then I reply'd.

Col. Pen. Sir, *Durus est hic Sermo*, it is no more than I expected from you; but rather than I will be taken off unheard, I will make my own Defence as well as I can.

The Jurors being then called, I challenged about Twenty-four of the Thirty-five I might have challenged. The rest of the Gentlemen were sent from the Bar; I was left alone upon my Tryal; and the Jurors were so pack'd, that had I known them, the Issue had been the same that it was. The Jurors being sworn, and the Indictment again read, *Mr. Attorney* demanded what Exception I could make to it? To which I answered;

Col. Pen. Sir, I except against every Part thereof: For I take it to be illegal *in toto Composito*.

Recorder Steel. Sir, it is not usual for any Court to admit of general Exceptions; therefore we expect, that you should make it to some Particular.

Col. Pen. Sir, I desire a Copy of my Indictment, and Time until To-morrow to make my Defence.

At. Gen. Sir, you cannot have it; the Court expects you should do it now.

Col. Pen. Then, if I cannot have Time, if my general Exception might have been admitted, it would have told you, that there can be no High Treason in this Nation, but it must be grounded upon the Common, or the Statute Law; but this is neither grounded upon the Common Law, or the Statute, *ergo* no Treason (against a Protector who had no Power according to Law): Neither is there any such thing in Law as a Protector; for all Treasons, and such Pleas, are *propria Causa Regis*.

Serj. Glyn. Sir, you are peremptory, you strike at the Government; you will fare never a whit the better for this Speech; speak as to any particular Exception you have to the Indictment.

Col. Pen. Sir, if I speak any thing which grates upon the present Government, I may confidently expect your Pardon: My Life is as dear to me, as this Government can be to any of you. The holy Prophet *David*, when he was in Danger of his Life, feigned himself mad, and the Spittle hung upon his Beard; you may easily therefore excuse my Imperfections. And since I am now forced to give you my particular Exception more plainly to the Indictment, I am bold to tell you, I observe in the latter Part of the Indictment, you say, I am guilty of High Treason, by virtue of a Statute in that Case made and provided. If there be any such Statute, pray let it be read; I know none such. My Actions were for the King, and I well remember what *Bracton* saith, *Rex non habet Superiorem nisi Deum; satis habet ad Pœnam, quod Deum expectat ultorem*. And in another Place he saith, *Rex habet Potestatem & Jurisdictionem super omnes qui in Regno suo sunt; ea quæ sunt Jurisdictionis & Pacis, ad nullum pertinent, nisi ad Regiam Dignitatem;*

tem; habet etiam Coercionem, ut Delinquentes puniat & coerceat: Again he saith, Omnes sub Rege, & ipse sub nullo nisi tantum Deo; non est inferior sibi Subjectis; non Parem habet in Regno suo. This shews us where the true Power is. You shall find also, ' That whosoever shall refuse to aid the ' King, when War is levied against him, or any ' that keeps the King from his just Rights, offends the Law, and is thereby guilty of Treason. ' Again, ' All Men that adhere to the ' King in personal Service are freed from Treason by Law. ' And yet you tell me of a Statute, which makes my adhering to the King, according to Law, to be High Treason; pray let it be read.

At. Gen. You have not behaved yourself so as to have such a Favour from the Court.

Col. Pen. Sir, I require it not as a Favour, but as my Right.

At. Gen. Sir, you cannot have it.

Col. Pen. If I cannot have it, these Gentlemen that are the Jurors have not offended you; their Verdict reaches to their Souls, as to my Life: Pray let not them go blindfold, but let that Statute be their Guide.

At. Gen. Sir, the Jury ought to be satisfied with what hath been already said, and so might you too.

Col. Pen. Sir, I thank you; you now tell me what I must trust to.

Mr. Attorney made a large Speech in the Face of the Court, wherein he aggravated the Offence with divers Circumstances; as saying, ' I had ' been four Years in *France*, and held a Correspondency with the King my Master, of whom I ' had learned the Popish Religion; that I endeavoured to bring in a debauch'd lewd young Man,

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‘ and to engage this Nation in another bloody
‘ War; and that, if I had not been timely pre-
‘ vented, I had destroyed them, (meaning the Ju-
‘ rors) and their whole Families. ’ I interrupted
him, and said,

Col. Pen. Mr. Attorney, you have been heretofore of Council for me, you then made my Case better than indeed it was; I see you have the Faculty to make Men believe Falshood to be Truth too.

At. Gen. Sir, you interrupt me, you said but now you were a Gentleman.

Col. Pen. Sir, I have been thought worthy heretofore to sit on the Bench, though now I am at the Bar.

Mr. Attorney then proceeded in his Speech, and called the Witnesses. Then I said,

Sir, you have put me in a Bear's Skin, and now you will bait me with a Witness. But I see the Face of a Gentleman here in the Court, (I mean Captain *Crook*) whose Conscience can tell him, that I had Articles from him, which ought to have kept me from hence.

Capt. Crook hereupon stood up, and his guilty Conscience (I supposed) advised him to sit down again, after he had made this Speech, that is to say, he opened his Lips, and spake nothing.

The several Witnesses now came in, Mr. *Dove* the Sheriff of *Wilts*, and others; my Charity forbids me to tell you what many of them swore; I shall therefore omit that, and only tell you, that one of our own Party (and indeed I think an honest Man) being forced to give his Evidence, I said, ‘ My Lords, it is a hard Case, that when
‘ you find you cannot otherwise cleave me in
‘ Pieces, that you must look after Wedges made
‘ out of my own Timber. ’ The virtuous Cryer of *Blandford* being asked what were the Words I
used

used in proclaiming King *Charles* at the Market, he said, ' I declared for *Charles II.* and settling ' the true Protestant Religion, for the Liberty of ' the Subject, and the Privilege of Parliaments. '

Then I said unto the Attorney General, and to the whole Court, ' You said even now, that I ' had learned of my Master the Popish Religion, ' and endeavour'd to bring him in; your own ' Witness tells you what and whom I would bring ' in, and it was the true Protestant, and not the ' Popish Religion his Majesty is of, and intends ' to settle. ' I urged divers Cases to make the Business but a Riot (as my Lord of *Northumberland's*) pretending it was for the taking of Taxes, and that the Power was not declared to be where they say it is. I requir'd the Judges to be of Council for me, and told them it was their Duty. Commissioner *Lisle* told me, I should have no Wrong, (but he meant Right); but the Judges *Rolls* and *Nicholas* confessed themselves Parties, therefore would say nothing. Then I told the Court, ' If I had seen a Crown upon the Head ' of any Person, I had known what had been ' Treason, the Law of *England* would have taken ' hold of me out of the Respects it has to Monarchy: There was no such Land-mark before me; therefore I conceive I cannot be guilty of ' what I am charged with. And, my Lord, and ' Mr. Attorney, you here indict me for a Treason ' committed at *Southmoulton* in *Devonshire*; and ' Gentlemen, ye swear Witnesses against me for ' Facts done in other Counties; *Sarum*, *Blandford*, and *Southmoulton*, are not in a Parish You ' puzzle the Jurors with these Circumstances, ' pray go to the Kernel; and you, Gentlemen of ' the Jury, save your Labour of taking those ' Notes. ' Mr. Attorney then address'd himself to the Jury, and, to be short, after the Space of

half an Hour long, gave them Directions to bring me in guilty: This being done, I craved the Favour from the Court, that I might speak to the Jury; which being allowed, I said to them as followed, or to the same Effect:

' Gentlemen, you are called a Jury of Life and
 ' Death, and happy will it be for your Souls, if
 ' you prove a Jury of Life. You have heard
 ' what has been said to make my Actions Treason,
 ' and with what Vigour many Untruths have
 ' been urged to you. I have made appear to you,
 ' that there can be no Treason but against the
 ' King; that the Law knows no such Person as
 ' a Protector. Mr. Attorney pretends a Statute
 ' for it, but refuseth the reading thereof, either
 ' to me or you; vilifies me at Pleasure, and tells
 ' you I am a Papist, and would bring in the Popish
 ' Religion; and that, if I had not been timely
 ' prevented, I had destroyed you. I hope
 ' you are all satisfied of the contrary, from the
 ' Mouth of one of the best Witnesses. You are
 ' now Judges between me and these Judges. Let
 ' not the Majesty of their Looks, or the Glory
 ' of their Habits betray you to a Sin, which is
 ' of a deeper Dye than their Scarlet; I mean
 ' that Sin, Blood, which calls to Heaven for
 ' Vengeance. Gentlemen, you do not see a Hair
 ' of my Head but is numbred, neither can you
 ' make any one of them; much less can you put
 ' Breath into my Nostrils, when it is taken out:
 ' A Sparrow doth not fall to the Ground without
 ' the Providence of God, much less shall Man,
 ' to whom he hath given Dominion and Rule
 ' over all the Creatures of the Earth. Gentlemen,
 ' look upon me; I am the Image of my
 ' Creator, and that Stamp of his which is in my
 ' Visage, is not to be defaced without an Account
 ' given

‘ given wherefore it was. I have here challenged,
‘ as I am a Gentleman, and a free-born Man of
‘ *England*, the Right which the Law allows me ;
‘ I demanded a Copy of my Indictment, and
‘ Council, but it is denied me. The Law which
‘ I would have been tried by, is the known Law
‘ of the Land, which was drawn by the wise
‘ Consultation of our Princes, and by the ready
‘ Pens of our Progenitors. The Law which I
‘ am now tried by, is no Law, but what is cut
‘ off by the Point of a rebellious Sword ; and
‘ the Sheets in which they are recorded, being var-
‘ nished with the Moisture of an eloquent Tongue,
‘ if you look not well to it, may chance to serve
‘ for some of your Shrouds. If the Fear of dis-
‘ pleasing others shall betray you to find me guil-
‘ ty of any thing, you can at the most but make
‘ a Riot of this. Pray, by the way, take Notice,
‘ that the last Parliament would not allow the
‘ Legislative Power to be out of themselves ; se-
‘ venteen of twenty in this very County were of
‘ that Opinion, and deserted the House ; they
‘ were your Representatives ; if you find me
‘ guilty, you bring them in Danger, and in them
‘ yourselves. Have a Care of being drawn into
‘ a Snare. Gentlemen, your Blood may run in
‘ the same Channel with mine. If what I have
‘ said do not satisfy you, so as to acquit me, if
‘ you bring me in a special Verdict, you do in
‘ some measure acquit yourselves, and throw the
‘ Blood that will be spilt, upon the Judges : Con-
‘ sider of it, and the Lord direct you for the
‘ best.

The Jury, after a quarter of an Hour's Retirement, brought me in Guilty : The Lord forgive them, for they knew not what they did.

Upon

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Upon *Monday* the 23d of *April* we were again called to the Bar, being then in Number twenty-six. Serjeant *Glyn* asked of me first, What I could say for myself, that I should not have Sentence according to the Law? Then I said,

My Lords and Gentlemen,

‘ You ask me what I can say for myself, that
 ‘ I should not have Sentence pass upon me. The
 ‘ Jury found me Guilty: If I should go about to
 ‘ make a Defence now, it would signify no more,
 ‘ than as if my Friend would petition for my Par-
 ‘ don after I am executed. I could have offered
 ‘ you Articles here, but I thought them incon-
 ‘ sistent with this Court. When I look upon my
 ‘ Offence, (as to the Protector) I conclude my-
 ‘ self a dead Man: but when I reflect upon the
 ‘ Favour he hath shewed to others of my Con-
 ‘ dition, and the Hopes I have of your Interces-
 ‘ sion, methinks I feel my Spirits renewed
 ‘ again. My Lords, Death is a Debt due from
 ‘ Nature; he has now the keeping the Bond,
 ‘ and has put it in Suit by his Attorney: if he
 ‘ please to forbear the serving me with an Execu-
 ‘ tion, and let me keep it a little longer, I will
 ‘ pay him the Interest of Thanks for it as long as
 ‘ I live, and engage my Posterity, and a nu-
 ‘ merous Alliance, to be bound for me. So the
 ‘ Lord direct you all for the best. If I have
 ‘ found Favour, I shall thank you; if not, I
 ‘ shall forgive you.

This being done, Serjeant *Glyn*, after a most bitter and nonsensical Speech, gave Sentence against us; viz. *To be Drawn, Hang'd, and Quar-
 ter'd.* A pretty Exchange for unworthy *Crook's*
 Articles

Articles for Life, Liberty, and Estate ; which I can prove, and will die upon. My Tryal held at least five Hours. This is as much as at present I can remember of it ; excuse the Errors.

One of the Jury being asked by a Gentleman why he found me Guilty ? answered, He was resolved to hang me before he did see me.

I observe Treason to be in this Age an *Individuum Vagum*, like the Wind in the Gospel, which bloweth where it listeth ; for that shall be Treason in me To-day, which shall be none in another To-morrow, as it pleaseth Mr. Attorney.

The * Judges are sworn to do Justice according to the Laws of the Land, and therefore have miserably perjured themselves, in condemning me contrary to Law : And (not so contented) must cause the Jury, (so wise they were) through their false and unjust Directions, to destroy their own Rights and Properties, and set up a new arbitrary, and tyrannical Government.

The Judges would not give their Advice in Point of Law, (as was their Duty) because they said they were Parties ; yet could sit still on the Bench in their Robes, to countenance and approve of my Sentence.

† No Man can be a Judge where he is a Party in the same Cause ; therefore my Tryal was contrary to Law.

The Judges being Parties, ought not to sit upon the Bench, but stand by ; therefore my Tryal was illegal : The rest being no Judges, but the Protector's immediate Servants, so could

* Witness one Bennet and Stroud, who in open Court confessed themselves to be guilty of all they proved against me, yet Mr. Attorney gave the Jury Directions to find them Not Guilty.

† Hobart, fol. 120. Doct. Boname's Case, pars 8. of Coke's Reports.

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not be my Judges in Cases of High Treason : for none but the sworn Judges of the Land are capable of it by Law.

One thing of Col. *Dove*, the reverend Sheriff of *Wilts*, who, that the Jury might be sufficiently incensed, complaining of the many Incivilities he pretended were offered him by our Party, being upon his Oath, said, That one of our Men did run him through the Side with a Carbine. Surely it was a very small one, for the Wound was not discernible.

A great deal of Pains every Man in his Place took for the carrying on their Master's Work.

Be merciful unto me, O Lord, be merciful unto me ; under the Shadow of thy Wings will I hide myself, 'till this Tyranny be overpast.

Glory be to God on High, in Earth Peace, Goodwill towards Men ; and so have Mercy on me, O Lord.

JOHN PENRUDDOCK.

Mrs. Penruddock's last Letter to her honourable and dear Husband.

My dear Heart,

MY sad Parting was so far from making me forget you, that I scarce thought on myself since, but wholly upon you. Those dear Embraces, which I yet feel, shall never lose being the faithful Testimonies of an indulgent Husband, have charmed my Soul to such a Reverence of your Remembrance, that, were it possible, I would with my own Blood cement your dead Limbs to Life again, and (with Reverence) think it no Sin to rob Heaven a little while longer of a Martyr. Oh, my Dear, you must now pardon my Passion, this being my last, (Oh fatal Word!) that ever you will receive

Col. Penruddock's Answer. 221

receive from me! And know, that until the last Minute that I can imagine you shall live, I will sacrifice the Prayers of a Christian, and the Groans of an afflicted Wife: And when you are not, (which sure by Sympathy I shall know) I shall wish my own Dissolution with you, that so we may go Hand in Hand to Heaven. 'Tis too late to tell you what I have (or rather, have not) done for you; how turn'd out of Doors, because I came to beg Mercy: The Lord lay not your Blood to their Charge. I would fain discourse longer with you, but Passion begins to drown my Reason, and will rob me of my Devoir. which is all I have left to serve you. Adieu therefore ten thousand times, my dearest Dear; and since I must never see you more, take this Prayer: May your Faith be so strengthened, that your Constancy may continue; and then I know that Heaven will receive you, whither Grief or Love will in a short time, I hope, translate,

My D E A R,

May the 3d, at
12 o' Clock at
Night.

Your sad, but constant

Wife, even to love your

Ashes when dead,

ARUNDEL PENRUDDOCK.

Your Children beg your Blessing, and present their Duties to you.

The last Letter from the honourable Col. Penruddock, in Answer to his virtuous Lady.

My dearest Heart,

I Even now received thy Farewel Letter, each Word whereof represent unto me a most lively Emblem of
your

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your Affection, drawn with thine own Hand in Water-colours to the Figure of a Death's Head. My Dear, I embrace it, as coming first from God, and then from Man; for what is there done in this City that the Lord hath not permitted? I look upon every Line of thine, as so many Threads twisted together into that of my Life, which being now woven, my Meditations tell me, will make a fit Remnant for my Winding-sheet; upon the reading whereof, I may say with the Prophet, I should have utterly fainted, but that I believe verily to see the Goodness of the Lord in the Land of the Living. As this is mine, my Dear, so let it be thy Consolation. When I think what Wife and what Children I go from, and look no farther, I begin to cry, O wretched Man that I am! But when my Thoughts soar higher, and fix themselves upon those Things which are above, where I shall find God my Creator to my Father, and his Son my Redeemer to my Brother, (for so they have vouchsafed to term themselves) then I lay aside those Relations, and do of all Love, my Dear, desire thee, not to look towards my Grave where my Body lies, but toward Heaven, where I hope my Soul shall gain a Mansion in my Father's House. I do stedfastly believe, that God hath heard the Prayers of my Friends, and thine, and mine; and how knowest thou, O Woman, whether thou hast not saved thy Husband? Let those Considerations raise thy Spirit, I beseech thee; and that for God's sake, and mine. Though I lie among the Children of Men, which are set on fire against me, yet under the Shadow of the Almighty's Wings I will hide myself, till this Tyranny be overpast. The greatest Conflict I have had in this Extremity, was my parting with thee: The next Encounter is to be with Death; and my Saviour hath so pulled out the Sting thereof, that I hope to assault it without Fear. Though the Arms of Men have been too hard for me, yet I am now lifting myself under the Conduct of my Sovereign,
and

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and an Army of Martyrs, that the Gates of Hell cannot prevail against. My Dear, I have now another Subject to think on, therefore you must excuse the Imperfections you find here. I have formerly given you Directions concerning my Children, to which I shall refer you. May the Blessing of Almighty God be upon thee and them, and may there not want a Man of my Name to be ready to be a Sacrifice in this Cause of God and his Church, so long as the Sun and Moon shall endure. I shall now close up all, with desiring you to give a Testimony for me to the World, that I die with so much Charity, as to forgive all my Enemies: I will join them in my last Prayers for my Friends; amongst which you and my Children are, for my sake, obliged to pay a perpetual Acknowledgment to Mr. Rolles and his Lady, and my Cousin * Mr. Sebastine Isack, for their great Solicitations on my Behalf. If I should forget this City of Exeter, for their Civilities to my own Person in particular, and indeed to all of us, I should leave a Reproach behind me: I will give them Thanks at my Death; and I hope you and yours will do it when I am dead. My dear Heart, I once more bid thee Adieu; and with as much Love and Sincerity as can be imagined, subscribe myself,

Thy dying and

Exon, May 7.
1655.

loving Husband,

JOHN PENRUDDOCK.

* N. B. Mr. Sebastine Isack, although he seemed very solicitous for Col. Penruddock in his Life, since his Death hath been very unworthy to his Memory. (contrary to his Promise to the said Colonel in his Life) and hath done contrary to the Will of the Dead, the Trust reposed in him, the Principle of Honour, and much unbecoming a Gentleman.

224 Col. Penruddock's Speech.

The Speech of the Honourable Colonel Penruddock, which he delivered upon the Scaffold in Exon-Castle, the 16th Day of May, 1655.

AS he was ascending the Scaffold, baring his Knees, and humbly bowing himself, he used these Words ; ‘ This, I hope, will prove to be like Jacob’s Ladder ; though the Feet of it rest on Earth, yet I doubt not but the Top of it reacheth to Heaven. ’

When he came upon the Scaffold, he said,
O wretched Man that I am, who shall deliver me from this Body of Death ? I thank God, who hath given me the Victory, through our Lord Jesus Christ.

Then with abundance of Christian Chearfulness he spake to the People as followeth :

Gentlemen,

‘ **I**T hath ever been the Custom of all Persons
 ‘ whatsoever, when they come to die, to give
 ‘ some Satisfaction to the World, whether they
 ‘ be guilty of the Fact of which they stand
 ‘ charged. — The Crime for which I am now
 ‘ to die, is *Loyalty*, but in this Age called *High-Treason*. I cannot deny but that I was at *South-moulton* in this County : but whether my being
 ‘ there, or my Action there, amounts to so high
 ‘ a Crime as High Treason, I leave to the World
 ‘ and the Law to judge. Truly, if I were conscious to myself of any base Ends that I had in
 ‘ this Undertaking, I would not be so injurious
 ‘ to my own Soul, or disingenuous to you, as
 ‘ not to make a publick Acknowledgment
 ‘ thereof. I suppose that divers Persons, according as they are by their several Interests and
 ‘ Relat-

Relation biassed, give their Opinions to the
 World concerning us; I conceive it impossible
 therefore so to express myself in this Particular,
 as not to expose both my Judgment and Reputation
 to the Censure of many which I shall
 leave behind me. Because I will not put
 others therefore upon a Breach of Charity concerning
 me, or my Actions, I have thought fit
 to decline all Discourses which may give
 them a Capacity either to injure themselves or
 me. My Tryal was publick, and my several
 Examinations, I believe, will be produced when
 I am in my Grave. I will refer you therefore
 to the first, which I am sure some of you
 heard; and to the latter, which many of you
 in good Time may see. Had Captain Crook
 done himself and us that Right which a Gentle-
 man and a Soldier ought to have done, I had
 not now been here. The Man I forgive with
 all my Heart; but, truly, Gentlemen, his pro-
 testing against those Articles he himself with so
 many Protestations and Importunities put upon
 us, hath drawn so much Dishonour and Blood
 upon his own Head, that I fear some heavy
 Judgment will pursue him. Though he hath
 been false to us, I pray God, that I do not prove
 a true Prophet to him.

Nay, I must say more; that coming on the
 Road to Exon, he the said Captain Crook told
 me, Sir Joseph Wagstaffe was a gallant Gentle-
 man, and that he was sorry that he was not
 taken with us; that then he might have had
 the Benefit of our Articles: But now, said he,
 I have beset all the Country for him, so that he
 cannot escape, but must be hanged.

He also questioned me, as I passed through
 Salisbury from London, whether he had given
 me Conditions? Which I endeavouring to make

Q

appear

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' appear to Major *Butler*, he interrupted me, and
 ' unwillingly confessed it, saying, I proffered him
 ' Four hundred Pounds to perform his Articles;
 ' which had been a strange Proffer of mine, had
 ' I not really conditioned with him. And I told
 ' him then, (having found him unworthy) I would
 ' have given him Five Hundred Pounds, believ-
 ' ing him to be mercenary. To make it further
 ' appear I injure him not by calling him unwor-
 ' thy, after these Articles were given, he prof-
 ' fered to pistol me, if I did not persuade ano-
 ' ther Houle to yield, which then were boldly
 ' resisting. To which my Servant *John Biby*
 ' (now a Prisoner) replied, I hope you will not
 ' be so unworthy as to break the Law of Arms.

' Thus much I am obliged to say to the Ho-
 ' nour of the Soldiery, that they have been so
 ' far from breaking any Articles given to others,
 ' that they have rather bettered them than other-
 ' wise.

' It is now our Misfortunes to be made Prece-
 ' dents and Examples together; but I will not do
 ' the Protector so much Injury as to load him
 ' with this Dishonour; since I have been inform-
 ' ed, that he would have made our Conditions
 ' good, if *Crook* that gave them had not abjur'd
 ' them.

' This is not a Time for me to enlarge upon
 ' any Subject, since I am now become the Sub-
 ' ject of Death: But since the Articles were
 ' drawn by my own Hand, I thought myself
 ' obliged in a particular Justification of them.

' I could tell you of some Soldiers who are
 ' turned out of his Troop for justifying those
 ' Conditions of ours: But let that pass; and hence-
 ' forward instead of Life, Liberty, and Estate,
 ' which were the Articles agreed upon, let Draw-
 ' ing,

ing, Hanging, and Quartering bear the Denomination of Captain *Crook's* Articles.

‘ However, I thank the Protector for granting me this honourable Death.

‘ I should now give you an Account of my Faith. But truly Gentlemen, this poor Nation is rent into so many Opinions, that it is impossible for me to give you mine without displeasing some of you: However, if any be so critical as to inquire in what Faith I die, I shall refer him to the Apostles, *Athanasius*, and the *Nicene Creeds*, and to the Testimony of this reverend Gentleman *Dr. Short*, to whom I have unbosomed myself; and if this do not satisfy, look into the Thirty Nine Articles of the Catholick Church of *England*; to them I have subscribed, and do own them as authentick.

‘ Having now given you an Account concerning myself, I hold myself obliged in Duty to some of my Friends, to take off a Suspicion which lies upon them; I mean as to some Persons of Honour, which upon my Examination I was charged to hold Correspondence with. The Marquis of *Hertford*, the Marquis of *Winchester*, and my Lord of *Pembroke*, were the Persons nominated to me. I did then acquit them, and do now second it with this Protestation, that I never held any Correspondence with either or any of them, in relation to this particular Business, or indeed to any thing which concerned the Protector, or his Government. As for the Marquis of *Winchester*, I saw him some twelve Years since, and not later; and if I should see him here present, I believe I should not know him. And as for the Earl of *Pembroke*, he was not a Man likely to whom I should discover my Thoughts, because he is a Man of a contrary Judgment.

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' I was examined likewise concerning my Bro-
 ' ther *Freke*, my Cousin *Hastings*, Mr. *Dorrington*,
 ' and others. It is probable their Estates may
 ' make them liable to this my Condition: But I
 ' do here so far acquit them, as to give the
 ' World this further Protestation, that I am con-
 ' fident they are as innocent in this Business as
 ' the youngest Child here.

' I have no more to say to you now, but to
 ' let you know that I am in Charity with all
 ' Men, I thank God: I both can and do forgive
 ' my greatest Persecutors, and all that ever had
 ' any Hand in my Death.

' I have offered the Protector as good Secu-
 ' rity for my future Behaviour as I suppose he
 ' could have expected: If he had thought fit to
 ' have given me my Life, certainly I should not
 ' have been so ungrateful as to have employed it
 ' against him. I do humbly submit to God's
 ' Pleasure, knowing that the Issues of Life and
 ' Death are in his Hand. My Blood is but a
 ' small Sacrifice; if it had been saved, I am so
 ' much of a Gentleman, as to have given him
 ' Thanks that had preserved it; and so much a
 ' Christian, as to forgive them which take it.
 ' But seeing God by his Providence hath called
 ' me to lay it down, I willingly submit to it,
 ' though terrible to Nature; but blessed be my
 ' Saviour, who hath taken out the Sting; so
 ' that I look upon it without Terror. Death is a
 ' Debt, and a due Debt; and it hath pleased
 ' God to make me so good a Husband, that I
 ' am come to pay it before it is due. I am not
 ' alarmed of that Cause for which I die, but ra-
 ' ther rejoice that I am thought worthy to suffer
 ' in the Defence and Cause of God's true Church,
 ' my lawful King, the Liberty of the Subject,
 ' and Privilege of Parliaments: Therefore I hope
 ' none

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‘ none of my Alliance and Friends will be
‘ ashamed of it; it is so far from pulling down
‘ my Family, that I look upon it as the raising it
‘ one Story higher. Neither was I so prodigal
‘ of Nature, as to throw away my Life, but
‘ have used (though none but honourable and
‘ honest) Means to preserve it.

‘ These unhappy Times indeed have been very
‘ fatal to my Family: Two of my Brothers al-
‘ ready slain, and myself going to the Slaughter:
‘ It is God's Will, and I humbly submit to that
‘ Providence.

‘ I must render an Acknowledgment of the
‘ great Civilities that I have received from this
‘ City of *Exon*, and some Persons of Quality,
‘ and for their plentiful Provision made for the
‘ Prisoners. I thank Mr. Sheriff for his Favour
‘ towards us, in particular to myself; and I de-
‘ sire him to present my due Respects to the Pro-
‘ tector, and though he had no Mercy for myself,
‘ yet that he would have Respect to my Family.

‘ I am now stripping off my Cloaths to fight a
‘ Duel with Death (I conceive no other Duel
‘ lawful); but my Saviour hath pulled out the
‘ Sting of this mine Enemy, by making himself
‘ a Sacrifice for me: And truly I do not think
‘ that Man deserving of one Drop of his Blood,
‘ that will not spend all for him in so good a
‘ Cause.

‘ The Truth is, Gentlemen, in this Age, Trea-
‘ son is an *individuum Vagum*, like the Wind in the
‘ Gospel, it bloweth where it listeth; so now
‘ Treason is what they please, and lighteth upon
‘ whom they will. Indeed no Man, unless he
‘ will be a Traitor, can avoid this Censure of
‘ Treason: I know not to what End it may
‘ come, but I pray God my own, and my Bro-

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‘ ther’s Blood that is now to die with me, may
‘ be last upon this Score.

‘ Now, Gentlemen, you may see what a Con-
‘ dition you are in without a King: You have no
‘ Law to protect you, no Rule to walk by;
‘ when you perform your Duty to God, your
‘ King, and Country, you displease the arbi-
‘ trary Power now set up (I cannot call it Go-
‘ vernment). I shall leave you to peruse my
‘ Tryal, and there you shall see, what a Condi-
‘ tion this poor Nation is brought into; and (no
‘ Question) will be utterly destroyed, if not re-
‘ stored by loyal Subjects to its old and glorious
‘ Government. I pray God he lay not his Judg-
‘ ments upon *England* for their Sluggishness in
‘ doing their Duty, and Readiness to put their
‘ Hands in their Bosoms, or rather taking Part
‘ with the Enemy of Truth. The Lord open
‘ their Eyes, that they may be no longer led,
‘ or drawn into such Snares; else the Child un-
‘ born will curse the Day of their Parent’s Birth.

‘ God Almighty preserve my lawful Sovereign
‘ King *Charles* the Second, from the Hands of
‘ his Enemies, and break down the Wall of
‘ Pride and Rebellion, which so long hath kept
‘ him from his just Rights. God preserve his
‘ Royal Mother, and all his Majesty’s Royal Bre-
‘ thren, and incline their Hearts to seek after
‘ him; God incline the Hearts of all true *En-
‘ glishmen* to stand up as one Man to bring in the
‘ King, and redeem themselves, and this poor
‘ Kingdom, out of its more than *Egyptian* Sla-
‘ very.

‘ As I have now put off these Garments of
‘ Cloth, so I hope I have put off my Garments
‘ of Sin, and have put on the Robes of Christ’s
‘ Righteousness here, which will bring me to the
‘ Enjoyment of his glorious Robes anon.’

Then

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Then he kneeled down, and kissed the Block, and said thus: ' I commit my Soul to God my Creator and Redeemer. Look on me, O Lord, at my last Gasping. Hear my Prayer, and the Prayers of all good People. I thank thee, O God, for all thy Dispensations towards me.'

Then kneeling down, he prayed most devoutly, as followeth:

O Eternal, Almighty, and most Merciful God, the righteous Judge of all the World, look down in Mercy on me a miserable Sinner. O blessed Jesus, Redeemer of Mankind, who takest away the Sins of the World, let thy perfect Manner of Obedience be presented to thy Heavenly Father for me. Let thy precious Death and Blood be the Ransom and Satisfaction of my many and heinous Transgressions. Thou that sittest at the Right Hand of God, make Intercession for me. O holy and blessed Spirit, who art the Comforter, fill my Heart with thy Consolation. O holy, blessed and glorious Trinity, be merciful to me, confirm my Faith in the Promises of the Gospel, revive and quicken my Hope and Expectation of Joys prepared for true and faithful Servants. Let the infinite Love of God my Saviour make my Love to him steadfast, sincere, and constant.

O Lord, consider my Condition, accept my Tears, assuage my Grief, give me Comfort and Confidence in thee; impute not unto me my former Sins; but, most merciful Father, receive me into thy Favour, for the Merits of Christ Jesus. Many and grievous are my Sins, for I have sinned many times against the Light of Knowledge, against Remorse of Conscience, against the Motions and Opportunities of Grace. But accept, I beseech thee, the Sacrifice of a broken and contrite Heart, in and for the perfect Sacrifice, Oblation, and

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Satisfaction of thy Son Jesus Christ. O Lord, receive my Soul, after it is delivered from the Burden of the Flesh, into perfect Joy in the Sight and Fruition of thee. And at the general Resurrection, grant that my Body may be endowed with Immortality, and received with my Soul into Glory.

I praise thee, O God, I acknowledge thee to be the Lord. O Lamb of God, that takest away the Sins of the World, have Mercy upon me. Thou that sittest at the Right Hand of God, bear my Prayer. O Lord Jesus Christ, God and Man, Mediator betwixt God and Man, I have sinned as a Man, be thou merciful to me as a God. O holy and blessed Spirit, help my Infirmities with those Sighs and Groans which I cannot express.

Then he desired to see the Axe, and kissing it, said, ' I am like to have a sharp Passage of it, but my Saviour hath sweetened it unto me. '

Then he said, ' If I would have been so unworthy as others have been, I suppose, I might by a Lye have saved my Life, which I scorn to purchase at such a Rate. I defy such Temptations, and them that gave them me. '

Glory be to God on High : On Earth Peace : Good Will towards Men. And the Lord have Mercy upon my poor Soul. Amen.

So laying his Neck upon the Block, after some private Ejaculations, he gave the Headsman a Sign with his Hand, who at one Blow severed his Head from his Body.

The Behaviour and last dying Speech of the piously resolved Col. Hugh Grove, who was beheaded May 16, 1655. in the Castle of Exon.

Colonel *Hugh Grove*, of *Chisenbury*, in the Parish of *Enford*, in the County of *Wilts*, Esq; had the Character of a pious, honest, meek, and very grave Gentleman, of serious Thoughts, and few Words, who together with the aforesaid loyal Sufferer, under taking in that noble Engagement for his Majesty's Restoration, the just Privileges of Parliament, the Rights and Liberties of the People, and the establish'd Religion, rose with Sir *Joseph Wagstaffe* in the West, upon Confidence of the Generality of the Design, and the Discontents of the late dissolv'd Parliament; and being taken Prisoner at the Defeat at *Southmoulton*, in *Devonshire*, after a close Imprisonment at *Exeter*, and strict Examination before *Oliver Cromwell* at *London*, in order to discover some Noble Persons concern'd, at last, among others, receiv'd his Tryal at *Exeter* aforesaid, where, knowing that the Judges were prepossessed, he address'd himself to the Jury, shewing them by the known Laws of the Land, that this loyal Attempt was Duty, and not Treason; which being over-rul'd, as the whole Current of the Law at that Time was, Sentence of Death was pass'd upon him, and accordingly he was brought to the Scaffold in the Castle Yard at *Exon*, May 16, 1655. where he thus address'd himself to the Publick:

Good People,

‘ I Never was guilty of much Rhetorick, nor
 ‘ I ever loved long Speeches in all my Life; and
 ‘ there-

' therefore you cannot expect either of them from
 ' me now at my Death. All that I shall desire
 ' of you, besides your hearty Prayers for my
 ' Soul, is, That you will bear me Witness, I die
 ' a true Son of the Church of *England*, as it was
 ' established by King *Edward* the Sixth, Queen
 ' *Elizabeth*, King *James*, and King *Charles* the
 ' First (of ever blessed Memory): That I die a
 ' loyal Subject to King *Charles* the Second, my
 ' undoubted Sovereign, and a Lover of the
 ' good old Laws of the Land, the just Privi-
 ' leges of Parliaments, and Rights and Liberties
 ' of the People; for the Re-establishing of all
 ' which, I did undertake this Engagement, and
 ' for which I am ready to lay down my Life.
 ' God forgive the bloody-minded Jury, and those
 ' that procured them: God forgive Capt. *Crook*
 ' for denying his Articles so unworthily: God
 ' forgive Mr. *Dove*, and all other Persons swear-
 ' ing so maliciously and falsely against me: God
 ' forgive all my Enemies, I heartily forgive them.
 ' God bless the King, and all that love him; and
 ' turn the Hearts of all them that hate him: God
 ' bless you all, and be merciful to you, and to
 ' my Soul. *Amen.*

And so meekly laying his Neck to the Block,
 and giving a Sign, his Head at one Blow, and a
 Draw of the Axe, was severed from his Body,
 which was afterwards buried in the Chancel of St.
Sidwell's Church, with this honest Epitaph, consi-
 dering the Times:

Hic jacet HUGO GROVE, in Comitatu Wilts,
Armiger, in restituendo Ecclesiam, in asserendo Re-
gem, in propugnando Legem, ac Libertatem Anglica-
nam, captus & decollatus, Maii Sexto, 1655.

N. B. Besides the two last mentioned Sufferers, there were twenty-four condemned at *Exeter*, (where one of *Oliver's* Knights, *Sir John Copleston*, was Sheriff) eleven whereof were hanged at the common Place of Execution, who having recover'd the Faintness they were in when they surrender'd, died with great Courage and Resolution, professing their Duty and Loyalty to the King; and were afterwards buried in a very solemn and decent manner, in that City, a great Number of People attending their Corps, and defraying the Charges, extending the same Civility to them dead, which they had afforded liberally to them living; so great a Plenty there was at that Time of the *Royal Party*, whose Hearts were intirely loyal, notwithstanding those severe Methods of proceeding; which shews, that Usurpers have been always more oblig'd to the Force of their Arms, than to the Affections of the People.

At *Chard* in *Somersetshire*, in their Return, they condemned five more, the principal whereof was *Major Hunt*, whom his Sisters coming to visit, and take their last Farewel of him, on the Night before his Execution, he chang'd Cloaths with one of them, (pretending before to be indispos'd, and to keep his Bed) and with a Handkerchief (as pretending weeping and sobbing) before his Eyes, was let out, while a Guard at the Door watched his Sister's Sleep that Night, who next Morning, awaking the supposed Major to make ready for Death, perceived the Stratagem; after which, several who had been condemn'd in other Parts for this Insurrection, were repriev'd and sold, and sent as Slaves to *Barbados*, where their Treatment was such, that few of them ever returned into their own Country.

Thus

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‘ Thus (as a great Author observes) this little
‘ Fire, which probably might have kindled and
‘ inflamed the whole Kingdom, was for the
‘ present extinguished in the West; and *Cromwell*
‘ secur’d without the Help of his Army, which
‘ he saw, by the Countenance it then shew’d when
‘ they thought he should have Use of them, it
‘ was high time to reform, and in that he resolv’d
‘ to use no longer Delay. ’

An Account of Sir Henry Slingsby, with his Behaviour on Tower-Hill, where he was Beheaded, June 8. 1658.

SIR *Henry Slingsby* was a Gentleman of an ancient Family in *Yorkshire*, and was return’d to serve as a Member in the *Long Parliament*, where he sat ’till the Troubles began; and having no Relation to, or Dependence upon the Court, he was sway’d only by his Conscience to detest their violent Proceedings. He was a Person of good Understanding, but of a melancholy Disposition, and of few Words; and when he could stay no longer with a good Conscience in their Councils, in which he never concurred, he went into his Country, and joined with the first that took up Arms for the King: and when the War was ended, he remained still in his own House, prepared and disposed to run the Fortune of the Crown in any other Attempt; and having a good Fortune, and a general Reputation, had a greater Influence upon the People, than they who talk’d more and louder.

On Suspicion of some Designs against the Usurper, into which he had been trapann’d, they kept

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kept him two Years Prisoner at *Hull*, and was now brought up to the *Tower*, for fear they might not make a sufficient Discovery of the new Plot. They had against him Evidence enough, (besides his incorrigible Fidelity to the Crown from the first assaulting it) that he had contriv'd, and contracted with some Officers in *Hull*, for the Delivery of one of the Block-houses to the Service of the King: nor did he care to defend himself against the Accusation, but rather acknowledg'd and justify'd his Assertion, and own'd his Loyalty to the King, with very little Compliment or Ceremony to the present Powers, who were resolved to cut him off, notwithstanding the very great Intercession that was used to preserve him; for he was Uncle to the Lord *Falconbridge*, who engaged his Wife, and all his new Allies, to intercede for him, but without Effect.

On *Tuesday* the 8th of *June* 1658. he was brought to the Scaffold on *Tower-Hill*, where he first fell upon his Knees, and prayed privately to himself for a short time; then standing up, with a low Voice he address'd himself to Mr. Sheriff *Robinson*, telling him, what he had to say he would speak to him, which was to this Effect:

- That he had received a Sentence to die, upon
- account of his endeavouring to betray the Ga-
- rison of *Hull*: but said, All that he did in that
- Business he was drawn into by others.

- That the Officers of that Garison did believe
- he had some greater Design in hand, and there-
- fore they would needs pump him to the Bottom:
- but what he spake to them in private, was brought
- into Evidence against him. He likewise said,
- That he did no more than any Person would
- have done that was so brought on.

- That he had made many Applications by his
- Friends for a Reprieve, but found his Highness
- was inexorable.

• He

• He did confess, that he did deliver a Commission, as it was charged against him : but
 • said, that it was an old Commission ; and what
 • he meant was well known to himself ; but what
 • Construction others had made of it, might appear by his present Condition. ’

He discovered little Sense of Sorrow, or Fear of Death ; but said, ‘ He was ready to submit, ’ or Words to the like Purpose. Then he address’d himself to private Prayer again, and kneeling down at the Block, prayed privately for a short Space : Then laying his Head upon the Block, and the Sign being given, the Executioner severed his Head from his Body at one Blow, which was received by his Friends, and put into a Coffin, and removed into a close Coach near the Place.

The Manner of the Execution of the Reverend Doctor John Hewit on the same Scaffold, June 8. 1658 ; together with his last dying Speech and Prayers before his Death.

DOCTOR Hewit was born a Gentleman, and bred a Scholar, and was a Divine before the Troubles broke out. He lived in Oxford, and in the Army ’till the End of the War, and continued afterwards to preach with good Applause in a little Church, viz. St. Gregory’s by St. Paul’s in London ; where, by the Affection of the Parish, he was admitted, since he was enough known to be notoriously under the Brand of Malignity. When the Lord Falconbridge marry’d Cromwell’s Daughter (who had used secretly to frequent his Church) after the Ceremony of the Time, he was made choice of to marry them according to the

the Order of the Church ; which engaged both that Lord and Lady to use their utmost Credit with the Protector to preserve his Life, but all in vain ; for the Usurper was inexorable, and, by this Instance of his Severity upon a Clergyman, was desirous that the Churchmen (whom he look'd upon to be his mortal Enemies) should see what they were to trust to, if they stood in Need of his Mercy.

His greatest Crime was, collecting and sending Money to the King, besides having given Money to some Officers. When he was brought to the Bar, he refused to plead, and spoke only against the Illegality of the Court ; which, upon better Information, and before the Judgment was pronounced against him, he desired to retract, and would have put himself upon his Tryal (it being believed by many, that if he had pleaded, he might have been acquitted, since in truth he had never been with the King at *Cologne* or *Bruges*, with which he was charged in the Indictment) ; but they refused to admit him ; and so Sentence of Death was pronounced against him, which accordingly he underwent with great Christian Courage on the 8th of *June* 1658.

Being come upon the Scaffold, together with Dr. *Wild*, Dr. *Warmsley*, and Dr. *Barwick*, he fell upon his Knees, and prayed privately for the space of a quarter of an Hour ; after which he prayed audibly for a longer time : and then rising, he addressed himself to the People in the following *Speech*, which continued above the Space of an Hour :

‘ I Am now become a publick Spectacle to Men
 ‘ and Angels ; and I hope God, who is Om-
 ‘ niscient, is now beholding me with much Pity,
 ‘ and great Mercy and Compassion ; and the
 ‘ more,

• more, because I am now come to that End that
 • his own Son came into the World to, to bear
 • Witness to the Truth : He himself said, *For*
 • *this End was I born, for this Cause came I into the*
 • *World, that I should bear Witness to the Truth :*
 • I was brought into the World (the Christian
 • World) for to bear Witness to the Truth of
 • the Gospel, as a Common Christian : I was
 • brought into the World (the Church) as a
 • Minister of his blessed Word and Sacraments ;
 • blessed be his Name for that Honour and Dig-
 • nity : And I came into the World to die more
 • immediately for the Testimony of JESUS, which
 • God hath now called me to. I came into the
 • World (this Commonwealth) to be a Member
 • thereof, to bear Witness to the Truth of the
 • Customs, the Laws, the Liberties, and the
 • Privileges thereof, so am I a Member of the
 • Commonwealth. And methinks it seems to me
 • a strange thing, that inasmuch as we all plead
 • for Liberty and Privileges, and I pleading for
 • the Privileges, the Laws, the Statutes, and the
 • Customs of this Land, yet I should die by those
 • that should stand for the Laws, the Statutes and
 • Privileges of the Land : And I am here beheld
 • by those that plead for their Liberties ; and I
 • hope I am pitied, because I here give up my-
 • self willingly and freely to be a State-Martyr for
 • the Publick Good ; and I had rather die many
 • Deaths, than betray my Fellow-Freemen to so
 • many Inconveniencies, that they might be like to
 • suffer by being subject to the Wills of them that
 • willed me to this Death.

• And it is worthy Remembrance, that Mr. So-
 • licitor having impeached me of Treason, to the
 • Commissioners of the Court, against his High-
 • ness, I did often, when brought before those
 • Commissioners, plead for the Liberties of the
 • People

' People of *England*: Though I had no Know-
 ' ledge of the Law, yet I had Instruction
 ' from those that were learned in the Law, and
 ' had several Law-Cases and Precedents put
 ' into my Hand, though not by them, and urged
 ' several Law-Cases, and made my Appeal.
 ' First, For the Judicature that I was to be try'd
 ' by, Whether it were according to Law? Whe-
 ' ther it were according to the Act? And, Whe-
 ' ther it were according to the Words of the said
 ' Act? I did appeal to have the said Act urged
 ' by learned Lawyers on both Sides, and then
 ' to be resolved by his Highness's own Counsel;
 ' which was denied me: (This by the bye).
 ' I pressing the Argument, made a second Ap-
 ' peal, That those Judges, if they would give
 ' singly their several Judgments, that it was a just
 ' and lawful Court of Judicature, I would an-
 ' swer to my Charge. I did make another Ap-
 ' peal to those that were his Highness's Coun-
 ' cil, and pleaded against me, That if they would
 ' deliver it to me, under their Hands, to be ac-
 ' cording to Law, I would then go on to plead,
 ' and answer to the Charge. What was then
 ' said further, my Spirits being faint, I shall not
 ' say much to, but only this, I was taken in three
 ' Defaults upon Formality of the Court. It seems
 ' it is a Custom in all Courts, which I did not
 ' know before, that if they answer not the third
 ' time speaking by the Clerk, that then they are
 ' guilty of three Defaults, and proceeded against
 ' as mute. I had no such Knowledge of the
 ' Law; so they found me Guilty of those De-
 ' faults: And when I would have pleaded, and
 ' resolved to begin to plead, I was taken from
 ' the Bar. I did the next Day make my Petition to
 ' the Court in the *Painted Chamber*; two Petitions
 ' were presented, the same in Effect; in the former

‘ the Title was mistaken : yet because the Title
‘ was mistaken, and no Answer given, therefore
‘ it was, that another Petition was drawn up to
‘ the same Effect, with a new Title given, as I
‘ remember, presented by the Serjeant at Arms,
‘ and one writ it over in such Haste, lest they
‘ should be withdrawn out of the *Painted Chamber*,
‘ that I had not Time to read it over, only I
‘ subscribed my Name, and there was in the
‘ Front of the Petition a Word left out, but
‘ what the Word was I know not ; and this was
‘ taken so ill, as if I had put an Atfront and Con-
‘ tempt upon the Court : and it was thought they
‘ would have heard me plead ; and then, because
‘ of that Mistake, they sent Word, I should have
‘ my Answer when I came into the Court ; and
‘ my Answer was the Sentence of Condemnation.
‘ And therefore I pray with all my Soul, that
‘ God would forgive all those that occasioned the
‘ Charge to be drawn up against me, to give
‘ such unjust Things against me : I pray with all
‘ my Soul, that God would forgive all those that,
‘ upon so slender and small Grounds, adjudged
‘ me to die, taking Advantage of such simple
‘ Ignorance as I was in. And I had, at the very
‘ Beginning of my Pleading, engaged their Ho-
‘ nours, no Advantage should be taken against
‘ me to my Prejudice, inasmuch as I understood
‘ nothing of the Law. And having heard that
‘ a Man, in the Nicety of the Law, might
‘ be lost in the Severity thereof, merely for
‘ speaking a Word out of simple Ignorance, I
‘ made it my Prayer to them, that no Advantage
‘ might be taken against me to the Prejudice of
‘ my Person : And there was to me a seeming
‘ Consent ; for the President told me, there
‘ should be no Advantage taken against me :
‘ and, upon these Considerations, I am afraid
‘ there

‘ there was too great Uncharitableness. But I
 ‘ pray God forgive them from the very Bottom
 ‘ of my Soul; and I desire that even those that
 ‘ shed my Blood, may have the Bowels of the
 ‘ God of Mercy shed for them.

‘ And now having given you the Occasion of
 ‘ my coming hither, it is fit I should give you
 ‘ somewhat as concerning myself, as I am a Chri-
 ‘ stian, and as I am a Clergyman. First, as I am
 ‘ a Christian; I thank God as I was baptized to
 ‘ the Holy Church, so I was baptized to be a
 ‘ Member of the Holy Catholick Church, that
 ‘ is, the Church of *England*, which I dare say, for
 ‘ Purity of Doctrine, and orderly Discipline, till
 ‘ a sad Reformation had spoiled the Face of the
 ‘ Church, and made it a *Quære* whether it were
 ‘ a Church or no; I say, it was more purely Di-
 ‘ vine and Apostolical, than any other Doctrine
 ‘ or Church in the Christian World, whether
 ‘ National, Classcal, or Congregational: And I
 ‘ must tell you, That as I am a Member of this
 ‘ Church, so I am a Member of the Holy Catho-
 ‘ lick Church, and shall give a most just Confes-
 ‘ sion of my Faith, both negatively and affirma-
 ‘ tively. Negatively, I am so a Member of the
 ‘ Holy Catholick Church, that I abhor all Sects,
 ‘ Schisms, Sedition, and Tyranny in Religion.
 ‘ Affirmatively so, that as I hold Communion
 ‘ with, so I love and honour all Christians in the
 ‘ World, that love the same Lord JESUS in
 ‘ Sincerity, and call on his Name, agreeing with
 ‘ those Truths that are absolutely necessary, and
 ‘ clearly demonstrated in the Word of God, both
 ‘ in the Old and New Testament, though in
 ‘ Charity dissenting from some others that are not
 ‘ necessary. And I, as I am thus a Christian,
 ‘ hope for Salvation thro’ the Merits of Christ
 ‘ Jesus; his Blood I rely on, his Merits I trust, to

' the Salvation of my own Soul; tho' to this
 ' Faith good Works are necessary; not merito-
 ' rious in us, but only made meritorious by Christ's
 ' Death; by his All-sufficiency, by his Satis-
 ' faction, and his Righteousness, they become
 ' meritorious, but in us they are no other than
 ' defiled Rags. And truly, as I am a Member
 ' of the Church, so I told you, I was a Member
 ' of this Community, and so pleaded for the Li-
 ' berties and Privileges thereof, I must answer
 ' some things I am aspersed withal in the World.

' They talk of something of a Plot, and a
 ' treasonable Design, and that I had a great In-
 ' terest in the Knowledge and Practice thereof,
 ' and that, for the saving my Life, I would have
 ' discovered and betrayed I cannot tell what. I
 ' hope my Conversation hath not been such here
 ' in this City, where I have been a long time ve-
 ' ry well known, as to make one imagine I should
 ' intermeddle in such an Action, and go so con-
 ' trary to the Practice of my Profession: And I
 ' hope there are none so uncharitable towards
 ' me, as to believe I had a Knowledge of that
 ' Design.

' Here I must come to Particulars, for a Plot
 ' of having a Design upon the City of *London*,
 ' for the Firing of it. I so much tremble at the
 ' Thought of the Thing that should have been
 ' done, as they say, for the carrying on of such
 ' a Design, (if my Heart deceive me not) had I
 ' known it, I so much abhor the thing, I should
 ' have been the first Discoverer of it: Nor ever
 ' had I Correspondency or Meetings with such
 ' Persons as would have carried on such a De-
 ' sign. It is said likewise, I entertained the Earl,
 ' the Marquis of *Ormond*: To my Remembrance
 ' I never saw the Face of that honourable Person
 ' in my Life. It is said, one Lord's Day I did
 ' preach

' preach at *St. Gregory's*, and the next Lord's
 ' Day I was at *Brussels* or *Bruges*, and kiss'd the
 ' King's Hand, and brought I cannot tell what
 ' Orders and Instructions from him. This I shall
 ' say, For these three Years last past together, I
 ' have not been sixty Miles from *London*; and I
 ' think it is somewhat farther to either of those
 ' Places than Threescore Miles. It is said that I
 ' kept Correspondence with one *Mallory* and *Bi-*
 ' *shop*: They are Persons whose Names I have
 ' heard of, but never saw their Faces; and to
 ' my Knowledge I do not know that they know
 ' me; nor do I know them at all, but only as I
 ' have heard of their Names. And whosoever
 ' else hath suggested such things against me, I
 ' know not.

' His Highness was pleased to tell me, *I was*
 ' *like a flaming Torch in the midst of a Sheaf of*
 ' *Corn*: He meaning, I being a publick Preacher,
 ' was able to set the City on Fire by Sedition, and
 ' Combustions, and promoting Designs. Here
 ' truly I do say, and have it from many of
 ' those who are Judges of the High Court,
 ' that upon Examination of the Business they
 ' have not found me a Medler at all in these Af-
 ' fairs. And truly I must needs say therefore,
 ' that it was a very uncharitable Act in them
 ' (whosoever they were) that brought such Accu-
 ' sation against me, and irritated his Highness
 ' against me. I will not say it was Malice, it
 ' might be Zeal, but it was rash Zeal which caused
 ' me to be sentenced to this Place: The God of
 ' Mercy pardon and forgive them all. And tru-
 ' ly, as I am a Member of the Church, and as a
 ' Member of the Community, on whose Behalf I
 ' have been speaking, I cannot but do as our Sa-
 ' viour himself did for his Disciples, when he was
 ' to be taken from them; he blessed them, and

' ascended up to Heaven. My Trust is in the
 ' Mercy of the most High, I shall not miscarry;
 ' and however my Days are shortened by this un-
 ' expected Doom, and I shall be brought un-
 ' timely to the Grave, I cannot go without my
 ' Prayer for a Blessing upon all the People of
 ' this Land, and cannot but bless them all in the
 ' Name of God, and beseech God to bless them
 ' in all their Ways, and his Blessing be upon
 ' them.'

Let us pray.

O Most glorious Lord God, thou whose Dwelling is
 so far above the highest Heavens, that thou hum-
 blest thyself but to look upon the Things that are in Hea-
 ven, and that are in Earth, and thou dost whatsoever
 thou wilt both in Heaven, in Earth, in the Sea, and
 in all deep Places. In thy Hands are the Hearts of
 all Men, and thou turnest them which way soever
 thou wilt. O Lord, look in Mercy and Compassion,
 we beseech thee, on this great and numerous People of
 this Land; look upon them, O Lord, with an Eye of
 Pity, not with an Eye of Fury and Indignation; O
 look not upon all those great and grievous Sins that
 have provoked thee most justly to Wrath and Displea-
 sure against us: Gracious God, who can stand in thy
 Sight when thou art angry? When thou with re-
 buke dost correct man for sin, thou makest his
 beauty to consume away, like as it were a moth
 fretting a garment. O Lord, thy Indignation and
 Wrath lies heavy upon us, and thou hast vexed us
 with Scourges, thou hast made us a Reproach and a
 Bye-word among our Neighbours, and the very Heathen
 laugh us to scorn. Oh that thou wouldest turn us
 again, O Lord of Hosts! that thou wouldest shew us
 the Light of thy Countenance, that we may behold it;
 that thou wouldest humble us for all those Sins and
 grievous Transgressions that are amongst us; for those
 Atheisms,

Atheisms, for those Infidelities, horrid Blasphemies, and Profaneness, for those Sacrileges, for those Heresies, for those Schisms, Errors, and all those Blindnesses of Heart, Pride, Vain-glory, and Hypocrisy; for that Envy, Hatred, and Malice, and all Uncharitableness, that hath set us one against another, that we are so dashed one against another, even to destroy each other; Ephraim against Manasseh, and Manasseh against Ephraim, and both against Judah. O Lord, we are like those Moabites and Ammonites, &c. — This thou hast done to us, O Lord, because we have rebelled against thee: O how greatly and grievously have we sinned against thee? Yet for all this thou hast not requited us according to our ill Deservings, for thou mightest have brought us to Desolation and Destruction: Fire might have come down from Heaven, and destroyed us; our Foreign Enemies, and the Enemies of thee, and thy Christ our Saviour, might have swallowed us up. What have we not deserved? Yet, O the Long-suffering and Patience, and Goodness of our God! O Lord our God, we pray thee, that thy Patience and Long-suffering might lead to Repentance, that thou wouldest be pleased, thou who delightest not in the Death of a Sinner, but rather that he should return from his Sins and live, that thou wouldest turn us unto thee, O Lord, and we shall be turned: Draw us, and we shall run after thee: Draw us with the Cords of Love, and by the Bands of thy loving Kindness, by the powerful working of thy holy Spirit in our Souls, working Contrition in our Hearts, and a godly Sorrow for all our Sins, even a Sorrow to Repentance, and a Repentance to Salvation never to be repented of. Lord, break these stony Hearts of ours by the Hammer of thy Word, mollify them by the Oil of thy Grace, smite these rocky Hearts of ours by the Rod of thy most gracious Power, that we may shed forth Rivers of Tears for all the Sins we have committed. O that thou wouldest make us grieve, because

we cannot grieve, and weep, because we cannot weep enough: That thou wouldest humble us more and more in the true Sight and Sense of all our Provocations against thee; and that thou wouldest be pleased, in the Blood of Jesus Christ, to cleanse us from all our Sins; Lord, let his Blood that speaks better things than the Blood of Abel, cry louder in thine Ears for Mercy, than all those Mischiefs and Wickednesses that have been done amongst us for Vengeance. O besprinkle our polluted, but repenting Souls, in the Blood of Jesus Christ, that we may be clean in thy Sight, and that the Light of thy Countenance may shine upon us. Lord, be pleased to seal unto our Souls the free Pardon and Forgiveness of all our Sins: Say to each of our Souls, and say that we may hear it, That thou art well pleased with us, and appeased towards us. Lord, do thou by the Spirit assure our Spirits, that we are thy Children, and that thou art reconciled to us in the Blood of Jesus Christ. To this End, O Lord, create in us new Hearts, and renew right Spirits within us; cast us not away from thy Presence, and take not thy Holy Spirit from us; but give us the Comfort of thy Help, and establish us with thy free Spirit. Help us to live as thy redeemed ones, and, Lord, let us not any longer, by our wicked Lives, deny our most holy Faith, whereof our Lips have so long time made Profession; but let us that call on the Name of the Lord Jesus depart from Iniquity, and hate every evil Way. Help us to cast away all our Transgressions, whereby we have transgressed, and make us new Hearts. Carry us along thro' the Pilgrimage of this World, supplying us with all things needful for us; thy Grace alone is sufficient for us; Lord, let thy Grace be assistant to us, to strengthen us against all the Temptations of Satan, especially against those Sins whereunto we are most prone, either by Custom or Constitution, or most easily provoked. O Lord, with what Affliction soever thou shalt punish, do not punish us with
spiritual

spiritual Judgment and Desertions. Give us not over to our own Hearts Lust, to our vile, lewd, and corrupt Affections; give us not over to Hardness and Impenitency of Heart, but make us sensible of the least Sin, and give us thy Grace to think no Sin little committed against thee our God, but that we may be humbled for it, and repent of it, and reform it in our Lives and Conversations: And, Lord, keep us from presumptuous Sins, O let not them get the Dominion over us, but keep us innocent from the great Offence, O Lord our Strength and our Redeemer: And, Lord, sanctify unto us all thy Methods and Proceedings with us, fitting us for all further Tribulations and Tryals whatsoever thou in thy divine Pleasure shalt be pleased to impose upon us: Lord, give us Patience, Constancy, Resolution, and Fortitude to undergo them, that tho' we walk through the Valley of the Shadow of Death, we may fear no ill, knowing that thou, O Lord, art merciful with us, and that with thy Rod, as well as with thy Staff, thou wilt support and comfort us; and that nothing shall be able to separate us from the Love which is in Christ Jesus our Lord. And, gracious God! we beseech thee, be thou pleased to look mercifully and compassionately on thy holy Catholick Church, and grant, that all they that do confess thy holy Name, may agree together in the Truth of thy holy Word, and live in Unity and godly Love. Thou hast promised, O Lord! the Gates of Hell shall not prevail against thy Church; perform, we beseech thee, thy most gracious Promises both to thy whole Church, and to that Part of it which thou hast planted, and now afflicted in these sinful Lands and Nations wherein we live. Arise, O Lord, and have Mercy upon our Sion, for it is time that thou have Mercy upon her, yea, the time is come; for thy Servants think upon her Stones, and it pitieth them to see her in the Dust. Lord, maintain thine own Cause; rescue the Light of thy Truth from all those Clouds of Errors and Heresies

sies which do so much obscure it, and let the Light thereof in a free Profession break forth and shine among us, and that continually, even as long as the Sun and Moon endure.

To this End, O Lord, bless us all, and bless Him —the Posterity.—which in Authority ought to rule over, and be above us: Bless Him in his Soul and in his Body, in his Friends and in his Servants, and in his Relations: Guide him by thy Counsel; prosper him in all Undertakings, granting him a long, prosperous, and happy Life here upon Earth, and that he may attain to a blessed Life hereafter. And, Gracious God, look mercifully upon all our Relations, and do thou bring them to the Light of thy Truth, that are wandering and ready to fall, confirm them in thy Truth that already stand; shew some good Token for Good unto them, that they may rejoice. O let thy good Hand of Providence be over them in all their Ways, and to all Orders and Degrees of Men that be amongst us; give religious Hearts to them that now rule in Authority over us, loyal Hearts in their Subjects towards their Supreme, and loving Hearts in all Men to their Friends, and charitable Hearts one towards another. And for the Continuance of thy Gospel among us, restore in thy good Time to their several Places and Callings, and give Grace, O heavenly Father, to all Bishops, Pastors, and Curates, that they may both by their Life and Doctrine set forth thy true and lively Word, and rightly and duly administer thy holy Sacraments. And, Lord, bless thy Church still with Pastors after thine own Heart, with a continual Succession of faithful and able Men, that they may both by their Life and Doctrine declare thy Truth, and never for Fear or Favour backslide or depart from the same. And give them the Assistance of thy Spirit, that may enable them so to preach thy Word, that they may keep thy People upright in the midst of a corrupting and corrupted Generation. And, good Lord, bless thy People every-where
with

with bearing Ears, understanding Hearts, conscientious Souls, and obedient Lives, especially those over whom I have had either lately or formerly a Charge, that with meek Heart, and due Reverence, they may hear and receive thy holy Word, truly serving thee in Righteousness and Holiness all the Days of their Lives.

And we beseech thee of thy Goodness, O Lord, to comfort and succour all those that in this transitory Life be in Trouble, Sorrow, Need, Sicknes, or any other Adversity. Lord, help the Helpless, comfort the Comfortless, visit the Sick, relieve the Oppressed, help them to Right that suffer Wrong, set them at Liberty that are in Prison, restore the Banished, and of thy great Mercy, and in thy good time, deliver all thy People of their Necessities: Lord, do thou of thy great Mercy fit us all for our latter End, for the Hour of Death, and the Day of Judgment; and do thou in the Hour of Death, and at the Day of Judgment, from thy Wrath, and everlasting Damnation, good Lord, deliver us, through the Cross and Passion of our Lord Jesus Christ.

In the mean time, O Lord, teach us so to number our Days, and me my Minutes, that we may apply our Hearts to true Wisdom, that we may be wise unto Salvation, that we may live soberly, godly, and righteously in this present World, denying all Ungodliness and worldly Lusts: Lord, teach us so to live, that we may not be afraid to die, and that we may so live, that we may be always prepared to die, that when Death shall seize upon us, it may not surprize us, but that we may lift up our Heads with Joy, knowing that our Redemption draws nigh, and that we shall be for ever happy, being assured that we shall come to the Felicity of the Chosen, and rejoice with the Gladness of the People; and give us such a Fulness of thy holy Spirit, that may make us steadfast in this Faith, and confirm us in this Hope; endue us with Patience under
thy

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thy afflicting Hand, and withal a chearful Resolution of ourselves to thy divine Disposing, that so passing the Pilgrimage of this World, we may come to the Land of Promise, the heavenly Canaan, that we may reign with thee in the World to come, through Jesus Christ our Lord; in whose blessed Name and Words we further call upon thee, saying,

Our Father, &c.

Let thy mighty Hand, and out-stretch'd Arm, O Lord, be the Defence of me, and all other thy Servants; thy Mercy and Loving-kindness in Jesus Christ our Salvation, thy true and holy Word our Instruction, thy Grace and Holy Spirit our Comfort and Consolation, to the End and in the End, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

Dr. Hewit's Letter to Dr. Wilde, the Day before his Execution.

Dearest Brother,

I Have no Cause to think that you have not at any Time taken me along with you in the daily Walk upon your Knees to Heaven; but I beseech you, and all my Brethren, to be now especially very mindful to call upon God for me; the more Company I go withal, the more welcome I shall be made; many will prevail, where one alone can do but little Good: Wo unto him that is alone; therefore, dear Brother, sith it is the Infirmary of our Nature, that we cannot live without giving and taking Offence, and 'tis the Corruption of our Nature, that

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‘ that the Offences we give we write in the Dust,
‘ those we take we engrave in Marble; if you
‘ know or shall hear of any Person, whom by
‘ any Act of Scandal I have tempted or pro-
‘ voked to exclude me the Benefit of their Pray-
‘ ers or Wishes, I beseech you, beg of them to
‘ forgive me, and let not any private Passion put
‘ out the holy Flames of a diffusive Charity; and
‘ as for myself, I here protest before God, that
‘ I do heartily forgive the Injuries that have been
‘ done me; and if my Heart doth not deceive
‘ me, I would give my Life to save the Soul of
‘ any of my Christian Brethren; and would be
‘ content to want some Degrees of Glory in Hea-
‘ ven, that my greatest Enemies might be so
‘ happy as to have some. The God of Mercy
‘ shed forth his Bowels for them that shed my
‘ Blood, and the Blood of Christ save, and his
‘ Spirit sanctify and support him, who desires to
‘ live no longer than to honour the Father, Son,
‘ and Holy Ghost, and both living and dying
‘ craves the Prayers of the whole Church for her
‘ unworthy Child, and,

Dearest Brother,

Your most affectionate Brother, and
Servant in Jesus Christ,

JOHN HEWIT.

*The Execution of Col. Ashton, in Tower-street, Mr.
Betley in Cheapside, and Mr. Stacey at the Royal
Exchange, in July 1658.*

WE come now to the last of those who suffered
under *Cromwell's* Usurpation; who, not con-
tented with those inhuman Butcheries which have
been

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been hitherto related, was resolved once more to exercise his Tyranny, and take another Fill of Loyal Blood ; in order to which, several who had been apprehended on Suspicion of some Designs against his Highness, were brought to the Bar, viz. Col. *Edward Ashton*, Mr. *John Betley*, Mr. *Edward Stacey*, with several others, who received Sentence of Death ; and that the Impression upon the Citizens might be the greater, the three above-mentioned Sufferers, with all Circumstances of Rigour and Severity, were order'd to be drawn, hang'd, and quarter'd in several great Streets of the City ; and accordingly, Colonel *Ashton* was executed in *Tower-street*, the second of *July*, in the Year 1658. And Mr. *Betley* the same Day in *Cheapside* ; at whose Death happened a Thing somewhat strangely remarkable ; for having hung almost a Quarter of an Hour, and thought to be dead, he pull'd off his Cap, and look'd upon the People, to their great Surprise : Two Days after, Mr. *Edward Stacey* was hang'd against the Royal Exchange in *Cornhill*. But now all Men appeared so nauseated with Blood, and so tired with such abominable Spectacles, that *Cromwell* thought it best to pardon the rest who were condemn'd, or rather to reprieve them ; being himself soon after summoned to appear before the *Great Tribunal*, where Justice will be impartially distributed, Right done to those who have suffer'd Wrong ; and the greatest of Tyrants find themselves as accountable for what they have committed, as the meanest of those whom they have oppressed.

A N

Historical Register

OF THE

LORDS, KNIGHTS, and GENTLEMEN,

Who were slain in Defence of their KING
and COUNTRY, during the Unnatural
Rebellion, begun in 1641.

*Greater love than this no man hath, than that one
lay down his life for his friends. John xv. 13.*

LORDS and EARLS.

Robert, Earl of *Lindsey*, General of the Army,
who was a Man of great Honour, and spent
the Youth and Vigour of his Age in Military
Actions and Commands abroad; at last appearing
in Behalf of his Majesty, at the Head of
the Army at *Edge-Hill*, Oct. 23. 1642, with a
Pike in his Hand, and too prodigal of his Person,
having received eighteen Wounds, and oppress'd
with Number, was obliged to yield to his Enemies,
and the next Day, for want of due Care,
to Death; and though the King's Army was then
victo-

victorious, yet it struck no little Damp upon their Conquest,

*When on Edge-hill the Noble Lindsey dy'd,
Whilst Victory lay bleeding by his Side.*

II. *George Lord D'Aubigny*, a Gentleman of great Hopes, and clear Courage, appearing likewise in the same Cause at *Edge-hill*, was kill'd in the first Charge with the Horse; where there being so little Resistance, gave occasion to suspect it was done by his own Lieutenant, who was a *Dutchman*, and had not been so punctual in his Duty, but that he received some Reprehension from his Captain, which he murmured at. His Body was brought off wounded, and carry'd to *Abingdon*, where he died, and not long after was buried at *Christ-Church* in *Oxon*, not without great Lamentation for so promising a Person, whose Loss was no little Addition to the Publick Calamities.

III. *Spencer, Earl of Northampton*, attempting to secure *Litchfield* for the King, was encounter'd on *Hopton-beath* near *Stafford*, March 18. 1643, by Sir *William Brereton*, and Sir *John Gell*. In the second Charge, the Earl being engaged in the Execution, very near or among their Foot, had his Horse kill'd under him; so that his own Horse with too much Fury pursuing the Chace, he was left incompass'd by his Enemies, who confess'd this to his Honour, that after he was dismounted, he kill'd with his own Hand the Colonel of Foot who made first Haste to him; and that after his Head-piece was struck off with the But-end of a Musket, they offer'd him Quarter; which he refused, answering, 'That he scorn'd to take Quarter from such base Knaves and Rebels as they were.' After which, he was slain by a Blow

Blow with a Halbert on the Hinder-part of his Head, receiving at the same time another deep Wound on his Face. His Body could not be obtained by his Son, without satisfying some most unreasonable Propositions of the Enemy.

IV. The noble Earl of *Denbigh*, (who, from the Beginning of the War, with unwearied Pains, and exact Submission to Discipline and Order, had been a Volunteer in Prince *Rupert's* Troop) at the taking of *Bromicham*, April 3. 1643. was unfortunately wounded with many Hurts on his Head and Body with Swords and Poll axes, of which, within two or three Hours, he died.

V. The Marquis de *Vieville*, a Native of *France*, who, at the Fight of *Aubourne Chace* near *Newbury*, behav'd himself most gallantly, and was slain there, Sept 17. 1643.

VI. The Earl of *Sunderland*, a Lord of great Fortune, tender Years, (being not above three and twenty) and an early Judgment; who, having no Command in the Army, attended upon the King's Person under the Obligation of Honour; and putting himself in the King's Troop, Sept. 20. 1643. the Day the Battle of *Newbury* was fought, before they came to charge, was taken away by a Cannon Bullet.

VII. The Earl of *Carnarvon*, who, after he had charg'd and routed a Body of the Enemy's Horse at *Newbury* aforesaid, and coming carelessly back, was, by some of the scatter'd Troopers, run through the Body with a Sword, of which he died within an Hour; who, if he had lived, was very promising to have made an excellent Soldier, and by whose Death the King found a great Weakness in his Army.

VIII. The Lord Viscount *Falkland*, a Person of prodigious Parts of Learning and Knowledge, having put himself into the first Rank of the Lord

Biron's Regiment, then advancing upon the Enemy, who had lined the Hedges on both Sides with Musketeers, was shot in the Lower-part of the Belly with a Musket; and in the Instant falling from his Horse, his Body was not found 'till the next Morning. Thus fell that incomparable young Lord, among other noble Personages, at *Newbury*, in the four and thirtieth Year of his Age, very much lamented by Persons of all Ranks, but especially the Learned.

IX. The Earl of *Kingston*, Father to the Marquis of *Dorchester*, who being unhappily surpriz'd by some Forces of the Lord *Willoughby's*, about *Gainsborough*, and being a Person of great Quality, and of much Concernment to the King's Affairs, they resolv'd to send him to *Hull* in a Pinnace. In the Way thither, Col. *Cavendish*, Brother to the Earl of *Devonshire*, with a Party pursued the Pinnace to a Shallow, which she could not pass, demanding her and the Earl's Surrender; which being refused, a Drake was discharged, which unfortunately kill'd the Earl, and one of his Servants, being play'd on Purpose on the Deck to deter the Loyalists from shooting: whereupon they presently struck Sail, and yielded; but, with a just Revenge, were all sacrificed to the Ghost of that noble Peer.

X. The Lord *Grandison*, who received his Death's Wound at *Bristol*, July 24. 1643. after he had charged through and through the Enemy, two Horses kill'd under him, and four wounded, twelve Men at once upon him: his Counsels and Advices were as pertinent as his Actions were noble; King *Charles* the First saying at his Death, That he lost in him a good Counsellor, and an honest resolved Man: which coming from so good a Judge, prevents saying any more in relation to his Character.

XI. *John Lord Stuart*, who, out of Zeal to serve his Majesty, follow'd my Lord *Hopton* to *Brandon Heath*, or *Cberiton Down*, near *Alresford* in *Hampshire*, the Army standing ready to engage Sir *William Waller* ; and commanded a Body of Light Horse up the Hill with such brave Resolution, that he quickly gained it, but found the Enemy possessed of another : whereupon he follow'd directly to gain a commodious Hollow that lay between them, where many a gallant Man had his Grave ; and not daunted with the Fall of two Horses under him, nor with six Wounds received, and the Death of near five hundred Men round about him, he expired in his brave Heat and Fire, *March 29. 1654.* and was buried in *Christ-Church Chapel, Oxon*, by his Brother, with a Monument erected to his Memory.

XII. The Lord *Cary*, eldest Son of *Henry Cary* Earl of *Monmouth*, was slain at *Marston-Moor*, *July 2. 1644.*

XIII. The Earl of *Litchfield*, after having signalized himself in many sharp Engagements, at last render'd himself famous on *Rowton-Heath* near *Chester*, *Sept. 29. 1643.* where, when the King was over-power'd by *Poyntz* and *Jones*, he managed his Retreat to the Amazement of all who saw him, 'till he fell the last of the three illustrious Brothers of that noble Family, who dy'd Martyrs to this great Cause, wherein it was greater Honour to be conquer'd, than it was on the other Side to conquer.

XIV. The Lord *Francis Villiers*, a Youth of rare Beauty, and Comeliness of Person, Brother to the Duke of *Buckingham*, who with the said Duke, the Earl of *Holland*, and other noble Personages, rose in Arms for the Restoration of his sacred Majesty at *Kingston* in *Surrey* ; but being set upon by Sir *Michael Livesy*, with other the

260 *Knights and Baronets slain*

Parliament Forces, was taken Prisoner, and refusing Quarter at *Comb-Park*, was slain there, July 7. 1648. aged 19 Years.

XV. The Lord *Widdrington*, President of the Council of War under my Lord of *Newcastle*, in the North, and Commander in Chief of *Lincolnshire*, *Nottinghamshire*, and *Rutlandshire*, under Prince *Rupert*, of as great Affections to his Majesty, as the Country was towards him, being remarkable for those excellent Qualities of Skill, Vigilance, Sobriety, Integrity and Moderation. When he went over with the Duke of *Newcastle* to *Hamburg*, *Holland*, and *France*, after the Defeat of *Marston-Moor*, he told a Friend of his, that he had lost 35000 *l.* by the War; and when after he had waited on his Highness the Prince of *Wales*, in his Councils at *Paris*, and at the *Hague*, in his Treaties with the *Scots* and *English*, in the Command of the Fleet in 1648, and in the Conduct of the Northern Army that same Year, he lost his Life in marching to his Assistance into *England* with the Earl of *Derby*, at *Wigan* in *Lancashire*, Aug. 2. 1650.

XVI. Sir *Henry Constable*, Lord Viscount *Dunbar*, slain at *Scarborough-Castle*.

XVII. Baron *D'Auneau* a Dutchman, slain at *Nottingham*.

XVIII. Duke *Hamilton*, unfortunately slain in the Fight at *Worcester*, of which Wounds he shortly after died.

K N I G H T S and B A R O N E T S.

I. **S**IR *Edmund Verney*, Standard-bearer to his Majesty at *Edge-hill*, and valiantly fighting under it, was slain in that Charge, when *Balfour*, with

with a Reserve of Horse, unobserv'd and suddenly broke into those Regiments. He was a Person of great Courage; and it is recorded to his Honour, that when by his Place he held the Royal Standard at Nottingham, he should say, *That, by the Grace of God, (which was his usual Expression) they that would wrest that Standard from him, must first wrest his Soul from his Body.* And accordingly, when he was over-power'd by his Enemies, he was offer'd his Life, upon Condition he would deliver the Standard; he answer'd, *That his Life was his own, and he could dispose of it; but the Standard was his and their Sovereign's, and he would not deliver it while he lived, and he hoped it would be rescued (as it was) when he was dead; selling it and his Life, at the Rate of sixteen Gentlemen, who fell that Day by his Hand.*

II. Sir Richard Lawdy, who in Febr. 1642. commanded a Party of his Majesty's Forces from Hereford, and encountered the Rebels of Gloucester at Cover on the Borders of that County, routed their whole Body, kill'd and took most of the Rebels Commanders, and many common Soldiers, with four Drakes; yet this Victory came not off without some Loss, for Sir Richard himself was here slain by a Shot out of a Window in Cover Town, with five common Soldiers only of his Majesty's Party.

III. Sir Bevil Greenvill, who with other Royalists encountering Sir William Waller on Lansdown-Hill, July 5. 1643. beat him out of his Lines and Hedges, and likewise forced him from an high Hill fortified on all Sides, the Passage being very narrow and dangerous, between a Wood lined with Musketeers on the one hand, and Hedges on the other, but gain'd by Sir Bevil after four desperate Repulses by Horse, Foot, and Cannon, and main-

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tain'd with a Stand of his own Pikes, with a Gallantry and Honour admir'd by his very Enemies, until he was unfortunately slain at the Head of his Men.

IV. *Sir Nicolas Slanning*, and Colonel *John Trevanion*, whom by reason of the near Resemblance between them in their Lives, and in their Deaths, it may not be improper to join together: They were the Life and Soul of the *Cornish* Regiments, and having devoted themselves to the Service of his Majesty, being mov'd by no other Impulsion than that of Conscience, and joining with other Loyalists in the Reduction of *Bristol*, July 24. 1643. they were both hurt in the same Minute, and in the same Place, both shot in the Thigh with Musket-Bullets, their Bones broken, the one dying presently, the other some few Days after; and both had the Royal Sacrifice of their Sovereign's very particular Sorrow, and the Concurrence of all good Men's. They were both young, neither of them above eight and twenty, of intimate Friendship to one another, and to *Sir Bevil Greenwill* above-mention'd.

V. *Sir Anthony Maunsell*, who died in the Bed of Honour at *Newbury* first Battle, September the 20th. 1643.

VI. *Sir Ingram Hopton*, and *Sir George Bowls*, both slain near *Horncastle* in *Lincolnshire*, in Octob. 1643. where his Majesty's Forces under the Command of the Lord *Widdrington*, and Colonel *Henderson*, a Scot, received a total Defeat by the Rebels, commanded by *Maxwell*, *Cromwell*, and *Fairfax*, and six hundred Prisoners taken.

VII. *Sir Henry Howard* and *Sir William Savile*, Governor of *Sheffield*, both slain on *Adderton-Heath*, in *Yorkshire*, the last Day of June, 1643. where the Earl of *Newcastle* obtained a great Victory over the Northern Rebels, and their General

ral *Fairfax*, with much ado, made shift with one poor Troop of Horse to get to *Leeds*, leaving the rest to the Mercy of the Victor.

VIII. Sir *William Butler*, and Sir *William Clark*, both Gentlemen of *Kent*, of fair Fortunes, who had raised and arm'd their Regiments at their own Charge, and both slain at *Cropredy-Bridge*, June 29. 1644.

IX. Sir *John Smith*, Banneret of *England*, (who rescu'd the King's Standard from the Rebels at *Edgehill*) for which he had the Honour of Knighthood, was Brother to the Earl of *Carrington*, and lost his Life in the unfortunate Battle of *Alresford* in *Hampshire*, March 29. 1654. where Sir *William Waller* had the Advantage over the Lord *Hopton*. He had been trained up from his Yorth in the Wars of *Flanders*, being of an ancient Roman Catholick Family, and had the Reputation of one of the best Officers of the Horse. As soon as the first Troubles began in *Scotland*, he betook himself to the Service of his own Prince, and from the Beginning of the War to his own End, perform'd many signal Actions of Courage.

X. Sir *Thomas Metbam*, Sir *William Lampton*, Sir *William Wentworth*, Sir *Charles Slingby*, and Sir *Francis Daeres*, all seal'd their Affection to the Royal Cause with their last Blood, in that great Fight between Prince *Rupert* and the Parliamentarians at *Marston-Moor*, July 2. 1644. wherein above eight thousand lost their Lives, and was indeed the greatest of all the War.

XI. Sir *Anthony St. Leger*, slain in the second Battle at *Newbury*, Oct. 27. 1644. wherein the Rebels fell upon his Majesty's Quarters, but were repuls'd with the Slaughter of above a thousand of their Men; here the valiant Earl of *Cleveland* was casually taken Prisoner, having his Horse first killed under him.

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XII. Sir *Henry Gage*, Governor of *Oxford*, marching thence with a Party of Horse and Foot towards *Abingdon*, with Intention to raise a Fort at *Cullum Bridge*; but *Brown*, having Notice of the Design, was prepared accordingly, which begat a hot Skirmish, wherein the Rebels lost Major *Bradbury*, and at least thirty others slain; and on his Majesty's Part, not above seven common Soldiers: But by great Misfortune, Sir *Henry Gage* himself marching in the Front of his Men, did here receive a fatal Shot, of which he died in a few Hours after. His Body was afterwards interr'd at *Oxford*, with funebrious Obsequies and Solemnities, answerable to his Merits.

XIII. Sir *Michael Earnely*, an old Soldier, bred in the Low-Country Wars; an unwearied Man, Night and Day in Armour about Affairs either of the Field or Country: After eminent Services done against the Rebels in *Ireland*, he came with Colonel *Monk* (afterward Duke of *Albemarle*) into *England*: And was slain at the Surprizal of *Shrewsbury*, (the Treachery and Weakness whereof had gone to his Heart, if his Enemies Sword had not) *Feb. 22. 1644.*

XIV. Sir *John Girlington*, slain near *Melton Mowbray* in *Leicestershire*, *Feb. 25. 1644.* where Sir *Marmaduke Langdale* routed a great Body of the Rebels, consisting of at least twelve hundred Horse and Dragoons, commanded by Colonel *Rossiter*, a Scot; about thirty of them were kill'd, forty-six taken Prisoners, with four Colours of Horse, and but little Loss on the King's Side.

XV. Sir *William Mynswaring*, and Sir *Henry Fletcher*, both slain at *West-Chester*, that had been gallantly defended by the Lord *Biron* above five Months, and at last obliged to surrender on Conditions to march away, &c. *Feb. 3. 1645.*

XVI. Sir

XVI. Sir *John Digby*, a *Somersetshire* Gentleman, of good Education beyond Seas, and of great Temperance and Conduct at Home. He had long been bred a Soldier in the *Spanish Army*, and at last commanded a *Tertia* of the King's Army, which he had rais'd in *Somersetshire*, with great Vigilance, Activity, and Charge, spending twenty-five thousand Pounds from the Time he waited on his Majesty at *Nottingham*, 1642. having put the Commission of Array in Execution in *Somersetshire*, to the time he in *July 10. 1645.* received his Death's Wound in a gallant Engagement at *Langport* in that County, whereof he not long after died.

XVII. Sir *William Crofts* lost his Life near *Stokejy* in *Shropshire*, *June 9. 1645.* whither his Majesty's Forces were obliged to retreat, with the Loss of this gallant Gentleman, and some others.

XVIII. Sir *Thomas Gardiner*, slain in *Buckinghamshire*, in 1643.

XIX. Sir *Richard Crane*, bred in the *Palatinate*, serving the Prince Elector, with whose Son, Prince *Rupert*, he came over, 1642. to serve his own Sovereign. A Gentleman very careful against all ill Opinions of his Courage or Prudence, knowing, that if the Enemy over-aw'd or over-reach'd him, they for ever after had his Measure. Slain at a Salley out of *Bristol*, 1645.

XX. Sir *Peter Brown* of *Kiddington* in *Oxfordshire*, Sir *Thomas Dallison*, a *Lancashire* Gentleman, of great Service in Prince *Rupert's* Brigade, Sir *Richard Cave*, who were all slain in the unfortunate Battle at *Naseby*, *June 14. 1645.* so fatal to the King's Affairs, where there were above one hundred and fifty Officers, and Gentlemen of prime Quality, kill'd upon the Spot. The Enemy left no manner of Cruelty unexercised that Day, and in the Pursuit, killed above one hundred Women,

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Women, whereof some were the Wives of Officers of Quality.

XXI. Sir *Bernard Afley*, an eminent and stout Commander in his Majesty's Army, after admirable Services done in six Fights, and eight Sieges, died of his Wounds received in the last mentioned Salley out of *Bristol*.

XXII. Sir *Richard Hutton*, a gallant and worthy Gentleman, and the Son and Heir of a very venerable Judge, a Man famous in his Generation; slain Oct. 5. 1645. at *Sherburn* in *Yorkshire*, where Sir *Marmaduke Langdale* surpriz'd eight hundred of the Rebels Foot; but before they had dispos'd of the Prisoners, a fresh Party of the Enemy encounter'd them, rescued the Prisoners, disorder'd his Majesty's Forces, and besides Sir *Richard*, there was likewise slain,

XXIII. Sir *Francis Carnaby*, a Gentleman of good Quality, of *Thomum* in *Northumberland*, who with his Brother Sir *William*, was ten thousand Pounds the worse for the War: The one Treasurer of the Northern Army, and the other a Colonel; both after the Defeat at *Marston-Moor*, accompanying my Lord of *Newcastle* beyond Sea; whence Sir *Francis* return'd with new Hopes to serve his Majesty, and was slain at *Sherburn* aforesaid, having time enough to rise on his Knees, and cry, *Lord, have Mercy upon me, bless and prosper his Majesty.*

XXIV. Sir *Bryan Stapleton*, slain Sept. 24. 1645, at *Routon Heath* near *West-Chester*, where five thousand of his Majesty's Horse sustained a Defeat by a greater Body of the Rebels.

XXV. Sir *Nicolas Fortescue*, a Knight of *Malta*, slain in *Lancashire*, whose Worth is to be more regarded by others, the less he took Notice of it himself; a Person of so dextrous an Address, that when he came into Notice, he came into Favour; when

when he enter'd the Court, he had the Chamber, yea the Closet, of a Prince; a Gentleman that did much in his Person, and as he would say, *Let Reputation do the rest.*

XXVI. Sir Troilus Turbeville, Captain-Lieutenant of his Majesty's Life-guard, slain in the King's March from Newark to Oxford; whose Bounty to his Soldiers may be compar'd to that of the Lord Audley's formerly to his Esquires, when he bestowed the Pension of five hundred Marks, which he had received from the Black Prince, upon them; and being questioned for it by the Prince, he said, *These have done me long and faithful Service, without whose Assistance (being a single Man) I could have done but little; besides, the fair Estate left me by my Ancestors, enableth me freely to serve your Highness.*

XXVII. Sir Gilbert Gerard, jun. was killed near Ludlow.

XXVIII. Sir Richard Goodbill, wounded in Wales, and died at Worcester.

XXIX. Sir Lodowick Wyer, a Dutchman, slain at Banbury.

XXX. Sir Nicolas Kemish, of Kevenmably in Caermarthen, slain at Chepstow in Monmouthshire, whose Ancestors Blood was as noble in his Veins as in their own; who had the Sail of Valour as in their own; who had the Sail of Valour pois'd with the Ballast of Judgment. With a fanned Army, as he called it, he cunningly surprized Chepstow by a Slight, keeping it against all Force, (refusing any Treaty) till being forced, was barbarously killed in cool Blood.

XXXI. Sir ——— Compton, a Gentleman of known Worth and Loyalty, who engaging with those gallant Persons, Sir Charles Lucas, Lord Capel, &c. at Colchester, for the Restoration of his Majesty, was slain upon a Salley out against the Fairfaxians, who besieged the Town in July 1648.

XXXII.

268 *Knights and Baronets slain, &c.*

XXXII. Sir *William Vaughan*, a Person of excellent Conduct and Service in *South-Wales* and *Cheshire*, who for the brave Sallies he made from *Sbrawardling* Castle, was called the *Devil of Sbrawardling*; and commanded *Shropshire*, *Cheshire*, and the Borders of *North-Wales*, for his Majesty; till being over-power'd and defeated by *Pointz*, he made his Escape to *Ragland*, and from thence to *Ireland*; where having formed a considerable Army, and encamp'd them under the Marquis of *Ormond*, before *Dublin*, by the Neglect of the Engineer who had the Charge of the Guards, he was surpriz'd; and fighting desperately to gain the whole Army Time to rally, was killed, *Aug. 22. 1649.*

XXXIII. Sir *Arthur Aston*, a *Lancashire* Gentleman, bred up in the Wars of *Germany* from his Youth; he commanded the Dragoons at *Edgehill*, was made Governor of *Reading*, afterwards of *Oxford*; thence went with some Veterans into *Ireland*, where he was made Governor of *Drogheda*, and valiantly defended the Place committed to his Charge, and lost his Life in that Service; where that Monster of Nature, *Cromwell*, having gained the Place, being delivered to him upon Terms, most inhumanly put them all to the Sword.

XXXIV. Sir *Edmund Varney*, a Gentleman whose Worth made him alike belov'd and admir'd; his faithful Service being often approv'd in Defence of his Majesty; was one of those gallant Gentlemen, whose Merits render'd him odious to *Cromwell*, and by those bloody Cut-throats butcher'd at *Drogheda* aforesaid.

XXXV. Sir *John Brown*, a Major-General of the Scots, at such time as King *Charles* the Second was among them, who with a Party of Horse encountring with *Lambert*, in *Fyfe*, was there wounded, and quickly after died, in 1650.

XXXVI.

Colonels slain during, &c. 269

XXXVI. Sir *Thomas Tilley*, and Sir *Francis Gamul*, for many Years Fellow-Soldiers, and at last Fellow-Sufferers at *Wigan* in *Lancashire*, Aug. 25. 1651. gallantly fighting for his Majesty with the Earl of *Derby*.

COLONELS.

Colonel *Thomas Howard*, (Son of the Lord *William*) slain at *Piers-Bridge* in *Yorkshire*.

Col. *Thomas Howard*, (Son of Sir *Francis*) at *Atberton Moor*, June 30. 1643. the gaining of which Battle was principally ascribed to his Valour.

Col. *Charles Cavendish*, Governor of *Gainsborough*, whence issuing out to the Relief of the surpriz'd Earl of *Kingston*, he was over-power'd, and his Horse carrying him over the *Trent*, but sticking in the Mud, he died magnanimously, refusing Quarter; and throwing the Blood that ran from his Wounds in their Faces that shed it.

Col. *Ferdinando Stanhope*, slain in *Nottinghamshire*.

Col. *Philip Stanhope*, his Brother, a considerable Person in the Army, Governor of *Shelford House*, taken by Storm, where he was kill'd, Oct. 25. 1645. being the first in stopping every Breach that was made.

Col. *Cuthbert Coniers*, of *Leighton* in *Durham*, slain at *Malpas* in *Cheshire*, in Aug. 1644.

Col. *Thomas Morgan*, of *Weston* in *Warwickshire*, slain at *Newbury* first Battle: He raised a Regiment of Horse for the King at his own Charge, and his Estate was given to Mr. *Pym's* S. n.

Col.

270 Colonels slain during

Col. *Pinchback, Wheatly, Fitz-Morris*, slain likewise at *Newbury*.

Col. *Thomas Dalton* of *Tburnham*, mortally wounded at *Newbury* second Battle, and died at *Marlborough*.

Col. *John Arundel*, at *Plymouth*.

Col. *Buck*, a modest and a stout Commander, and of good Experience in War, slain at *Bristol*, July 26. 1643. who having got over the *Graff*, and even to the Top of the Wall, was knock'd down with a Halbert, and perished in the *Graff*.

Col. *Harry Lunsford*, an Officer of extraordinary Sobriety, Industry, and Courage, slain also at *Bristol*, as likewise Col. *Trevanion*, above-mentioned.

Col. *Taylor*, a Person in honourable Esteem, who made the *Gloucestershire* Forces pay (as he said) Cost and Damage for the Death of Col. *Mynne*, but at last was himself kill'd at *Bristol*, 1645. where he died in the Bed of Honour.

Col. *Hern*, Son of Sir *Edward Hern*, slain with Col. *Beton*, a *Northamptonshire* Gentleman, at *Gainsborough* in *Lincolnshire*.

Col. *Bernard*, (with divers Gentlemen) put to the Sword at *Canon-Frome*, *Herefordshire*, July 1645.

Col. *John Marrow*, slain near *Sandiway* in *Cheshire*.

Col. *Middleton*, at *Hopton Heath*.

Col. *Francis Hungate*, of *Saxton*, *Yorkshire*, slain at *Chester*.

Col. *Mynne*, Governor of *Hereford*, as he was going to join the Forces of *Hereford* and *Worcestershire* at *Castlelane*, with a Design on *Gloucester*, (and others not keeping Touch with him) he was cut off with the best Regiment, within three Miles of *Gloucester*, in disadvantageous Inclosures, being

ing much miss'd by his Friends, and honour'd by his Foes, who gave him a stately Burial 1644. in Testimony of his Worth and Valour.

Col. *William Barnes*, slain at *Malpass, Cheshire*.

Col. *Francis Billingsly*, slain at *Bridgenorth, Shropshire*.

Col. *Thomas and Roger Wheatly*, slain at *Conway-Castle, Carnarvon*.

Col. *Richard Green*, slain at *Beeston Castle, Cheshire*.

Col. *Richard Poor*, Governor of *Berkely-Castle*, slain near *Lidney in Wales*; a little Man, but a great Soldier.

Col. *Monro*, a Scotsman, a Man of eminent Valour, slain at *Edge-hill*.

Col. *Wall*, at *Lansdown Fight*.

Col. *Sandys, Scot, Manning*, Persons of great Worth and Eminency, whose valorous Minds scorn'd Danger, and who hated no Man so much as a Coward: These gallant Sons of *Mars* were all slain in the Battle between my Lord *Hopton* and *Waller*, on *Cheriton Down, March 29. 1644*.

Col. *St. George*, who at the storming of the City of *Leicester*, in a Bravery and Gallantry of Courage, venturing upon the Mouth of a Cannon, was slain with a great Shot.

Col. *Posthumus Kerton*, a *Somersetshire* Gentleman, of great Fame, slain at *Marston-Moor*, in the midst of the *White Coats*, which he commanded, and call'd my Lord of *Newcastle's* Lambs, from their being cloathed by him in white Clo'h, which he had not Time to colour, and to which every Man of them, being unhappily cut off, gave a noble Tincture with their own Blood.

Col. *William Prideaux*, Son of the Reverend Dr. *John Prideaux*, slain at *Marston-Moor*, aforesaid; as likewise Col. *William Ewer*, Son to the late

272 Colonels slain during, &c.

late Lord Ewer, Col. Fenwick, Sir John Fenwick's Son, an excellent Horseman, and Col. George Heron of Chipcase, Northumberland.

Col. Bluet, at Lime.

Col. Dalby, that excellent Engineer, kill'd at Wingfield Manor in Derbyshire.

Col. Cassy Bental, at Stow in the Would, Gloucestershire.

Col. Phillips, near Winchester.

Col. Cutbbert Clifton, slain near Manchester.

Col. Leak, Son to the Right Hon. Francis Leak, slain at Newark.

Col. William Winne, of Bertbu, slain at Wem, which was the Bulwark of North Wales, and which, while he lived, he was very active and watchful in maintaining.

Col. Hugh Winne, slain at Banbury.

Col. James Chudleigh, at Dartmouth, Devon.

Col. Bowls at Alvon.

Col. Hugh Windham, in Dorsetshire.

Col. Pert, who received his Death's Wound, 1645. in Cornwall.

Col. William Walton, one that could do any thing extempore, but durst not pray so; slain in the fatal Battle of Naseby, wherein three Kingdoms lay bleeding by him, as well as Col. Cutbbert Ratcliffe, Col. Ralph Pudsey, and Col. Bagot, one who travell'd most Places of the World to accomplish himself for the Service of his own Country, where he was Governor of Litchfield, Staffordshire, keeping that Country in good Order, and gallantly behaving himself till his Death at Naseby.

Col. Warren, Fleming, Brin, all inhumanly put to the Sword by Cromwell, in the general Massacre at Drogheda.

Col. Hammond, a Kentish Gentleman, and firm Royalist, who was a Colchesterian, and suffer'd for his

Lieutenant-Colonels slain, &c. 273

his Loyalty a sharp Imprisonment at *Windſor*; afterwards, ſerving his Royal Maſter in *Ireland*, at the Caſtle of *Garran*, loſt his Life againſt *Cromwell*, and his conquering Army.

Col. *Morgan*, a gallant Gentleman, engaging with Sir *George Booth*, and fighting againſt *Lambert's* numerous Forces, which, like a Torrent, over-power'd them, after a brave Defence and Deſiance of his Enemies, was there mortally wounded, and ſoon after died, being the laſt Man whoſe Blood was ſhed in War againſt thoſe wicked Tyrants, the King's Reſtoration happening quickly after.

LIEUTENANT-COLONELS.

Lieutenant-Colonel *Thomas Markbarn* of *Allerton*, who in a ſharp Encounter, together with Sir *Ingram Hopton*, againſt the Earl of *Manchester's* Forces near *Horn-Caſtle* in *Lincolnſhire*, valiantly fighting, was unluckily ſlain.

L. C. *Lancelot Holby*, at *Branceford*.

L. C. *Smith*, ſlain at the raiſing of *Banbury Siege*.

L. C. *Colt*, at *Radcoat*.

L. C. *George Preſton*, at *Bradford*.

L. C. *Philip Howard*, and *Ward*, at *Laſdown*.

L. C. *Parvyer*, at *Lincoln*.

L. C. *Edward Wyburn*, ſlain at *Baſing-houſe* in cold Blood; as likewise Col. *Johnſon*.

Haggerſton, at *Preſton*.

L. C. *Liſke*, and *Stoniwood*, at *Marſton-moor*.

L. C. *Jordan Metham*, at *Pontefract-caſtle*, March the 1^{ſt}, 1644.

L. C. *Gower*, at *Scarborough*.

T

L. C.

- L. C. *Thomas Ewer*, *Topham*, and *Slingsby*, all slain at *Newbury*.
 L. C. *William Houghton*, and *Topping*, slain at *Newbury* second Battle.
 L. C. *Godfrey*, at *Tewksbury*.
 L. C. *Michael Constable*, at *Hopton-beath*.
 L. C. *Sayer*, and *Lawson*, at *Naseby*.
 L. C. *Story*, in *Gloucestershire*.
 L. C. *Moyle*, at *Bristol*.
 L. C. *Ballard*, and *Muddiford*, both at *Taunton*.
 L. C. *Jones* at *Bridgwater*.
 L. C. *Bolton*, at *Nantwich*.
 L. C. *John Godfrey*, at *Tewksbury*.
 L. C. *Ger. Salwin*, at *Northallerton*.
 L. C. *Daws*, at *Reading*.
 L. C. *Congrave*, slain at *Dean* in *Gloucestershire*.
 L. C. *Goodridge*, wounded at ———, and died at *Oxford*.
 L. C. *Richard Brown*, at ———.

SERJEANT-MAJORS.

- Serjeant-Major *Cusaud*, slain at the taking of *Basing-house*, in cold Blood.
 S. Maj. *Hudulston*, Maj. *Clarke*, and Maj. *Salwin*, at *Tork*.
 S. M. *Richard Harborn*, wounded at *Malpas*, died at *Kendal*.
 S. M. *Hesketh*, slain at *Malpas*.
 S. M. *Beaumont*, at *Leeds*.
 S. M. *George Pluckney*, near *Stamford*.
 S. M. *Kendal*, M. *Dean*, M. *Price*, and M. *Garner*, at *Bristol*.
 S. M. *Pate*, near *Asbby de la Zouch*.
 S. M. *Sheldon*, and M. *Lower*, at *Lansdown*.

S. M.

- S. M. *Williams*, at *South-Wales*.
 S. M. *Thomas Vavasor*, at *Marston-moor*.
 S. M. *Threave*, at *Torrington*.
 S. M. *Gower*, at *Scarborough*.
 S. M. *Panton*, wounded at *Cover*, died at *Higb-meadow*.
 S. M. *Trevillian*, and M. *Will. Leak*.
 S. M. *Laurence Clifton*, at *Shelford-house*.
 S. M. *Armstrong*, at *Oxford*.
 S. M. *Deuet*, a *Frenchman*, at *Letchblade*.
 S. M. *Pollard*, at *Dartmouth*.
 S. M. *Metcalf*, at *Pontefract*.
 S. M. *Wigmore*, at *Ilmister*.
 S. M. *Wilson*, and M. *Gilbert Markham*, at *Naseby*;
 as likewise M. *Rively*, who received his Death's-
 wound there, and died in *Prison at London*.
 S. M. *Spotswood*, at *Wem*.
 S. M. *Whitmore*, at *Muscum*.
 S. M. *Dacres*, at *West-Houghton*.
 S. M. *Walter Baskersfield*, in *Bedfordshire*.
 S. M. *Bunnington*, at *Leicester*.
 S. M. *How*, at *Keyleigh*.
 S. M. *Robson*, in *Durham*.
 S. M. *Jenkins*, at *Colam, Yorksire*.
 S. M. *Wormley*, at *Cirencester*.
 S. M. *Holmby*, at *Henly*.
 S. M. *Richard Norwood*, slain before *Taunton*.
 S. M. *Richard Sherburne*, at ———
 S. M. *Smith*, at ———
 S. M. *Dubleday*, at ———
 S. M. *Turner*, at ———
 S. M. *Pilkington*, at ———
 S. M. *Trollop*, at *Wigan*.
 S. M. *Tempest*, at *Drogheda*.

CAPTAINS.

- C**aptain *Marmaduke Constable*, Standard-bearer to Lieut. Gen. *Lindsey*, slain at *Edge-bill*.
- C. Henry Byron*, *C. Kingmil*, and *C. Robert Townsend*, all slain likewise at *Edge-bill*.
- C. William Laborn*, *C. Matthew Anderton*, at *Sheriff-button* in *Yorkshire*.
- C. Joseph Constable*, *C. Robert Molineux* of the *Wood* in *Lancashire*; *C. William Symcotts*, *C. L.* to the *Lord Pierce*; *C. Tho. Singleton*, *C. Francis Clifton*, and *C. Francis Bartis*, all slain at *Newbury first Battle*.
- C. Thurston Anderton*, wounded at *Newbury*, died at *Oxford*.
- C. Samways*, *Tho. Whittingham*, *C. Goring*, and *C. Richard Walsole*, slain at *Newbury second Battle*; where *C. Henry Wells* was wounded, and died in *Prison* at *London*.
- C. Wiburn*, *C. Antony Rigby*, kill'd at *Basinghouse* in cold Blood.
- C. Plunket* ———
- C. William Bowles*, at *Allen*.
- C. Thomas Winkley*, *C. Michael Fitzakerly*, slain at *Liverpoole*.
- C. William Williamson*, at ———
- C. James*, *C. Cornisham*, *C. Cholwell*, *C. Bustard*, all slain at *Lansdown*.
- C. Ratcliffe Houghton*, at *Preston*.
- C. Hugh Hen*, at *Faringdon*.
- C. Burgh* and *C. Randolph Wallinger*, at *Cover*.
- C. Haggerston* (eldest Son of *Sir Thomas*) in *Lancashire*.
- C. Coney*, at *Whaley* in *Lancashire*.
- C. Gilbert Ashton*, at *Boulton* in *Lancashire*.

- C. Antony Girlington, at Lancaster.*
C. Hugh Houghton, at Reading.
C. Vaughan, ———
C. Cha. Osburn, near Hartland.
C. Fry, at Torrington.
C. Cha. Thimelby, at Worcester.
C. Cottingham, at ———
C. Gardiner, at Thame.
C. John Bird, C. John Butler, C. Max. Nelson,
C. Roger Houghton, C. Edw. Bradley, C. May-
nell, C. John Wringlehurst, all slain at Marston-
more.
C. Rich, at Bristol.
C. Richard Bradford, at ———
C. Kenelm Digby (eldest Son of Sir Kenelm Digby)
raised a Troop of Horse at his own Expence,
and was slain at St. Neots.
C. Matthew Ratcliffe, near Henly.
C. Needham, at Shrewsbury.
C. Tho. Meynel, C. Kedman, at Pontefract.
C. William Fenwicke, at Boulton in Yorkshire.
C. Edward Ron, and C. William Hampton, at
Wakefield.
C. Francis Errington of Denton in Northumberland,
at Rotherham.
C. Huddleston, C. John Plumton, at York.
C. John Rocksbey, C. Francis Godfrey, at Sherburn.
C. Fitz-James, at Bridgwater.
C. Charles Stuart, in Warwickshire.
C. Christoph. Wray, C. Bunce, at Bradford.
C. John Clifton, at Shelford-house.
C. Henry Aldersey, C. John Adlington, at Chester.
C. Baxter, at Baughton near Chester.
C. Abraham Lance, C. Robert Lance, Brothers,
slain at Routon in Cheshire.
C. Farrer, C. Sandford, at Nantwich.
C. Slany, at ———
C. Chamberlain, at ———

- C. James Basset, at Launceston.
 C. Antony Hammerton, near Manchester.
 C. Standish, at Manchester.
 C. Antony Aud, C. Thomas Cole, at Newark, in
 a Salley.
 C. George Singleton, at ———
 C. Gerard, at Ludlow.
 C. John Whiley, at Harding.
 C. Sares, at Utoxeter.
 C. Topham, C. L. Burbeck, at Carlisle.
 C. Boteler, at Banbury.
 C. Gilb. Markham, C. Messenger, C. Daniel Tho-
 rold, C. Greenbury, and C. Thomas Gough, all
 slain at Naseby.
 C. Gascoigne, C. Yates, at Melton.
 C. Dudley Smith, at Roundway-down.
 C. Samuel Wenman, in Devonshire.
 C. Ormsbaw, near Oxford.
 C. Joseph Dawson, and C. Robert Dent, at New-
 castle.
 C. John Lance, at Islip.
 C. Cha. Blunt, at Gloucester.
 C. Geo. Cassey, at Hereford.
 C. John Lingen, at Ledbury.
 C. William Arundel, at Plymouth.
 C. Pattison, at Wigan.
 C. Langdale, at Creekbowell in Wales.
 C. Carver, in Monmouthshire.
 C. Peter Forcer, at ———
 C. Tho. Anderton, at ———
 C. Richard Walmsley, at Ormschurch.
 C. George Helden, at Uske.
 C. Richard Latbam, at Lichfield.
 C. Thomas Charnock, at ———
 C. Tho. Hesketh, and C. John Knipe, at Brindle.
 C. Tho. Eccleston, at ———
 C. Hotbeshal, C. Nicolas Anderton, at Brenoo-castle.
 C. Francis Rews, in Dean-forest.

Inferior Officers slain, &c. 279

- C. William Rookwood, at Alresford.*
C. Robert Rookwood, at Oxford.
C. Hoskins, slain at Lidney, in cold Blood.
C. Philip Darcy, at ———
C. William Jones, at Ragland.
C. Richardson, slain before Taunton.
C. Edward Wynn, C. Swords, and C. John Paney,
at Denbigh.
C. Gough, in the Service in Ireland.
C. Thomas Madden, slain in Woodstreet by the Fa-
naticks, Jan. 1660.
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INFERIOR OFFICERS.

- L**ieutenant *William Butler, slain at Newbury.*
Lt. Richard Osbalston, at Leeds.
Lt. George Hotherfal, at Liverpools.
Lt. William Garlington, at ———
Lt. John Kulcbeth, at Worral.
Lt. William Singleton, at Marston.
Lt. Peter Boardman, at Bradford.
Lt. Short, slain near Gloucester.
Lt. Richard Bradford, at Blechington,
Lt. James Bradford, at ———
Lt. Thomas Kinsman, at Lincoln.
Lt. John Birch, at Bromicham.
Lt. Staley, at Rusbal-ball.

- Cornet Porter, (Son to Mr. Endymion Porter) slain*
at Newbourn upon Tyne, Aug. 22. 1639.
Cor. William Kulcbeth, at Newbury.
Cor. Deinton, at Cardiff.
Cor. Robert Lance, in Cheshire.
Cor. Edw. Walker, at Burton.
Cor. Miles Lockard, at Gooderidge.

GENTLEMEN VOLUNTIERS.

MR. *Edward Talbot*, (Brother to the Earl of *Strewsbury*) slain at *Marston*.

Monfieur St. Paul, *Mr. Cha. Townley*, *Mr. Cha. Sberburn*, *Mr. Fr. Pavyer*, and *Mr. Christopher Anderton*, slain there also.

Edw. Sackville Esq; near *Oxon*.

Mr. Nicolas Thimelby, at *Bristol*.

Mr. Pool of Worral, at ———

Edw. Preston, Esq; at *Ormschurch*.

Mr. John Tipper, at *Newnham*.

Mr. Sands, at *Alresford*.

Mr. Christopher Blount, at *Edgbalston*.

Mr. Francis Darcy, at ———

Mr. Theodore Mowse, at *Langport*.

Mr. Gerard Salvin, at ———

Mr. Wiburne, *Mr. Robert Bowls*, and *Mr. William Stainer*, at *Basing*.

Mr. Price of Walsingham in *Northamptonshire*, slain at *Lincoln* in cold Blood.

Mr. Cutbbert Ratcliffe, slain at *Newcastle*.

Mr. Thomas Latham, at *Newark*.

Mr. Richard Latham, at *Lichfield*.

Mr. Andrew Giffard, at *Hampton*.

Mr. Bale, at *Tborp* in *Leicestershire*.

Mr. Lewis Blount, at *Manchester*.

Mr. Cary, and *Mr. Jennings*, at *Shelford-house*.

Mr. James Anderton, in *Wales*.

Mr. Thomas Roper, at *Goodridge*.

Mr. Stephen Pudsey, in *Holderness*.

Mr. James Banton, at *Cover*.

Mr. Thomas Penderel, at *Stew*.

Mr.

during the Grand Rebellion. 281

Mr. Boniface Kemp, and Mr. — Hesketh, slain
near York in cold Blood.

Mr. Michael Wharton, at Scarborough.

Mr. Errington, at Chester.

Thomas Westby, Doctor of Physick, Ralph Langton,
Esq; John Witbam, and William Selby, Esq; all
slain at Preston.

Mr. Mort, Mayor of Preston, was slain likewise.

Mr. Peter Davis, at Denbigh.

Mr. Edw. Davis, at Chester.

Mr. Bret, at —

Mr. Roger Wood, at Chester.

Mr. Henry Lawson, at Malton.

Mr. Thomas Craitborn Sen. at Uphaven.

Mr. Henay Johnson, at —

Three Sons of Mr. Kirby at Rawcliffe.

Mr. John Constable, in Yorkshire.

Mr. Stephen Tempest, at the Devizes.

Mr. Bourscle, at Newbury second Battle.

Mr. Courtney, in Lancashire.

Mr. Richard Brown, in the West.

Mr. Charles Mobun, at Dartmouth.

Mr. Cresset, at Bridgnorth.

Alderman Davison, and Mr. Thomas Ogle, at
Newcastle.

Mr. St. Johns, in the West.

Mr. George Moor, in Wales.

Dr. Weston, Physician, at —

T H E
LOYAL CONFESSORS:
In a BRIEF ACCOUNT of the
Most EMINENT SUFFERERS,
By Imprisonment, Banishment, or in Estate,
For the CAUSE of
His SACRED MAJESTY.

I.

THE Lord *Finch* of *Fordwich*, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal; a Person whose Abilities, and Loyalty to his Sacred Majesty, render'd him obnoxious to the unruly Rabble; and therefore, upon their arbitrary Proceedings against the Life of the most noble Earl of *Straford*, he wisely withdrew himself away in time, before popular Fury had seized on him; against which Beasts, Innocency would not then give Protection. He lived in Banishment and Exile from his native Country for sixteen Years, and then returned with more Credit and Honour than he was forced from it, dying in the Love and good Opinion of all honest People; his faithful Service to his Sovereign being all the Charge and Accusation they had against him.

II. Mr. Secretary *Windebanck*, a Person of approved Worth and Loyalty, against whom the Darts of popular Fury were in those Times of Dis-

Distraction especially aimed; which to avoid, he pursued the same Course with the Lord *Finch*, and died in the Time of his Absence abroad.

III. The Right Reverend Father in God, *Matthew Wren* Lord Bishop of *Ely*, who with eleven more of that sacred Function, were committed to the *Tower* in the Year of our Lord 1641. The Pretensions against them being the same with the Accomplices of *Korah*, *Ye take too much upon you, ye Sons of Levi*, when their Adversaries Intentions were, *to take all*; for though the grave Rabbies of that prevailing Faction buzzed into the Peoples Ears, that their Quarrel was against the Liturgy, against Ceremonies, and the like; yet their After-actions made it plainly appear, that it was more against Bishops Lands; and that the Wealth of the Clergy was more in their Aim, than the Weal of the Subjects; and the Riches of the Prelates more indifferent to those strict Disciplinarians, than a reverend Decency in holy Performances. Eighteen Years did this reverend Father suffer Imprisonment in the *Tower*, having in all that Time no Charge exhibited against him; but in the End of the Year 1659, he was restored to his Liberty by the Means of the renowned Duke of *Albemarle*, and was afterwards re-established in his former Diocese, to the Honour and Support of this restored Church.

IV. Religious Dr. *Featly*, one most eminent for Learning and Piety, to whom this Church is much indebted for his grave accurate Defences of its Doctrine and Discipline, a Man of excellent Endowments, and surpassing Knowledge, being a Divine of the primitive Stamp and Temper, when the Church by Lowliness of Spirit did flourish in high Examples; yet could not this his singular Piety, eminent Learning, nor those other extraordinary Gifts with which he was endowed,
privilege

privilege him from the Protection of a Prison, being by an Order of Parliament committed to *Peter-House*, where he languished in much Pain and Misery about a Year and a half, and was afterwards, (Sickness increasing) through much Importunity, removed to *Chelsea College*, as a more wholesome Air; but he was so far spent by their barbarous Misusage of him, that within three Weeks after his coming thither, he died.

V. Sir *Robert Heath*, Lord Chief Justice of *England*, a Person much honour'd for his Integrity and Moderation, and as conspicuous for his stedfast Loyalty, as the Sun in the Firmament in a serene Day. His constant approved Service to the King had render'd him so odious to the Rebels at *Westminster*, that he was by them excepted from Mercy; wherefore, towards the Expiration of the War, he abandoned his Country, and fled into *France*, where living in great Grief and Anxiety of Mind, to behold the Ruins of his King and Country, he fell into a Disease, and died thereof at *Caen* in *Normandy*, not long after the King's Death.

VI. Judge *Bartlett*, whose Innocency defied their Threats, and, like a Rock, stood in Opposition against that Torrent of Rebellion; but yet was forced at last to yield to their Tyranny in his Body, though his Mind they could not conquer: He was the first of that Reverend Robe that was committed, against whom was brought a Charge, fuller of Malice than Truth, while his Integrity made them ashamed of a further Prosecution: Thus we see, by the Imprisonment of this reverend Judge, and others, that the Pretence of our Grand Reformers was to put out the Eyes of the Law, that the Subjects might see the clearer.

VII. That Heart of Oak, and Pillar of the Law, Judge *Jenkins*, one of his Majesty's Jus-
tices

tices in *Wales*, whose Anagram is *David Jenkins*, *Kains did envy*. He was for some Misdemeanour of Loyalty brought to the Bar in Chancery, where he denied the Authority of the Court, because their Seal was contrary to Law, as well as their Commission; and so baffled those puny Judges, that instead of a further Prosecution there, they committed him Prisoner to the *Tower*, where he gave further Demonstrations of his Loyalty, by publishing several Precedents and Statutes, wherein he proved them Rebels and Traitors, and owned the same again at other Bars; so that he did more Mischiefe to the Enemies of the Royal Cause with his Pen, than their best Regiment could do with their Swords. He used his utmost Endeavours to set the Parliament and Army at Odds, thereby to promote the King's Cause, according to that well-known Maxim, *Divide and Conquer*, defying them and their Threats, and asserting the King and the Laws against their Usurpation. He was kept a close Prisoner in the Tower a long Time, where wearied of him by his indefatigable Industry in the King's Cause, he was removed from thence to *Windsor*, where he continued in the same Quality, and of the same Mind, till without Thanks to them he was permitted the Liberty of the Town; and survived to see the Return of Majesty, the Restoration of the Laws, and the Liberty of the Subjects restored to them again in as ample a Manner as it was before. See *his Reports*.

VIII. That valiant, loyal Son of *Mars*, Sir *Ralph* (afterwards Lord) *Hopton*, whose Courage and Prudence in the Management of the King's Affairs (for whom he commanded in the *West*) did gain him the Approbation of an expert Captain, and gallant Commander, having his Endeavours crowned with many notable Successes. After

ter his Disbanding in *Cornwall*, Rebellion then flourishing with a high Hand, he took Shipping with the Prince, and with him sailed into the Island of *Scilly*, and from thence into the Realm of *France*, following the King's hard Fortune in his Peregrinations, till Death in the End put a Period to his Travels, and, after a troublesome Life, he found a quiet Grave at the City of *Paris* in *France*.

IX. Mr. Secretary Sir *Edward Nicolas*, who constantly and faithfully adhered to his Majesty from the Beginning of his Troubles, being a great Prop to the Royal Cause, by his prudent Counsels, and great Abilities in the Management of the most difficult Affairs, and afterwards continued the same Service and Office to his late Majesty King *Charles II.* in all his Troubles and Negotiations abroad, having with great Faithfulness and Prudence manag'd that Employment all along, to the happy Effect of his Majesty's glorious Restitution.

X. Sir *Edward Hyde*, since the Right Honourable Earl of *Clarendon*, and Lord Chancellor to his late Majesty King *Charles II.* of whose Worth and Abilities to speak, were to cry out, *The Sun shines*; whose Counsels the Royal Martyr had in especial Esteem, and therefore made him his Bosom Favourite, which caused such a Hatred against him by the Faction at *Westminster*, as excluded him out of their spurious Act of Mercy: But escaping their merciless Cruelty, by a timely Avoidance of the Land, through his prudent Carriage of Affairs, together with the providential Mercy of God, he survived to see those Enemies of Monarchy and Regal Government brought to a just Tryal, and himself advanced to such a Pitch of Honour, as to see the Laws administered
in

in their right Form, and the Subjects to enjoy the just Privileges of them.

XI. The Lord *Wilmot*, afterwards by King *Charles II.* made Earl of *Rochester*, being raised thereunto by his superlative Deserts, not only by his Valour, which shone transcendent clear at *Round-way-down*, near the *Devizes*; but also in his prudent Carriage in that grand Affair, concerning the Kingdom's Happiness, in his Majesty's miraculous Escape from *Worcester*; he died a little before the King's Restitution, not surviving to participate of those Grandeurs, whereof his Abilities would have made him a deserved Sharer.

XII. The Right Reverend Dr. *Sheldon*, whose Deserts and Sufferings advanced him, upon the Restoration of his Majesty, to be Lord Bishop of *London*, since, by the Death of Dr. *Juxon*, (as none more able to supply his Place) to the Archbishoprick of *Canterbury*, Primate and Metropolitan of all *England*, of whose Abilities to speak, were to shew the Light of the Sun by a Candle: Let it suffice, that his very Name is enough to strike Envy dead, and to put to Silence the most obstinate Heretick, and rigid Schismatick upon the Face of the whole Earth.

XIII. The religiously loyal Dr. *Hammond*, a constant Assertor of our *English* Liturgy, and one whose Abilities render'd him dear to King *Charles* the Martyr; to whom Imprisonment was no Stranger, during the Time Rebellion was rampant, expecting every Day for his Loyalty to have been transported; yet would never yield nor deviate from those Ways wherein Conscience ascertained he was in the right, though not the predominant Side.

XIV. Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*, afterwards Lord *Langdale*, whose Abilities in Martial Affairs, would have deified him the God of Battle, though in
our

our Times his constant Loyalty had render'd him to a higher Pitch of Honour, being deservedly accounted a Pilot for all noble and gallant Spirits, whereby to direct and steer their Course.

XV. Mr. *Roger L'Estrange*, of whose Worth and Abilities to speak, would, to an intelligible Reader, appear superfluous, like the Labours of him who wrote a whole Volume in the Praise of *Hercules*, whom no Man dispraised. This loyal Gentleman, for his Endeavours for reducing *Lynn* to their Obedience to his Majesty, suffered the utmost Malice of a prevailing Faction, even to Condemnation, besides a long Imprisonment in *Newgate*; yet could not their Tyranny so much depress his Spirits, but his Pen was still a constant Assertor of the Royal Cause; in which he continued his best Endeavours unto and until the happy Restitution of his Sacred Majesty, by whom he was looked upon as one of the Agents of his Restoration.

XVI. The Right Honourable the Earl of *Norwich*, a Gentleman of such Worth and Abilities, that this Mite will signify nothing to those rare and excellent Gifts both of Learning and Wisdom, wherewith he was adorned.

XVII. Sir *John Stowel*, a *Somersetshire* Gentleman, whose Loyalty render'd him so sufficiently famous, that Envy itself cannot but grant him a prime Place with those glorious Confessors who suffer'd under the barbarous Tyrannies of the Rump, in the Cause of that blessed Martyr King *Charles*, who so constantly and vigorously adhered to the King during the War, until the Surrender of *Exeter*, where good Articles were granted, upon which he came to *London*, to make Composition for his vast Estate, then under Sequestration; but contrary to the Capitulation agreed upon at *Exeter*, the Committee at *Goldsmith's*-

Smith's Hall, (those Horse-leeches of the Nation) tendered him the Negative Oath before he could have any Admission to compound; to which unjust and perfidious Dealing he pleaded the Benefit of the said Articles, who (good conscientious Men!) committed him first to the Serjeant at Arms, and from thence to *Newgate*, where having remained a long while, he was at last brought to their High Court of Injustice, where he very hardly escaped with Life; his great Estate, amounting to near seven or eight thousand Pounds *per Annum*, making him liable to any Treason those incorrigible Traitors could suggest against him; he was from thence remanded to the Tower, but survived to enjoy again his own Estate, and to see many of those hang'd, who would have used their utmost Spight for the Enjoyment of his great Fortunes.

XVIII. Sir *John Berkenhead*, a Gentleman whose Worth and Deserts are too high for me to delineate; he was a constant Assertor of his Majesty's Cause in its lowest Extremities, and suffered for the same several Imprisonments: I shall speak no more in his Commendation, whose own Pen hath sufficiently display'd itself, that he who is ignorant thereof, must plead Ignorance both to Wit and Learning.

XIX. Dr. *Barwick*, a reverend Orthodox Divine, who for his Loyalty was, by an Order of the Long Parliament, committed Prisoner to the Tower, where he lay until such Time as he was near famished, when Colonel *West*, the then Lieutenant of the Tower, permitted him his Liberty on Parole to render himself at a prefixed Time soon after, which he accordingly perform'd; after the Lieutenant's Death, his Wife gained him his Conge, and set him at perfect Freedom, there being nothing of Accusation against him; for it

was the Method of those Tyrants to bury Men in their Prisons, until their Estates and Healths were quite exhausted, if they had nothing against them which could presently reach their Lives. This reverend Dr. survived to see the flourishing again of Episcopacy, and was by his sacred Majesty made Dean of *St. Paul's*, in which Place he continued till the Month of *October*, 1664. when (like *Abraham*) he was gathered to his Fathers, *a good Man, and full of Days.*

XX. The valiant Earl of *Cleveland*, a Person whose Worth and Honour cannot be forgotten, so long as living Annals shall inform Posterity of the Miseries of our Civil Wars. This loyal Earl, as he gave undoubted Testimonies all along the War, of his unfeigned Fidelity to the Royal Cause, so particularly at *Worcester*, where he was, in Obedience to his Majesty's Commands; suffering a tedious and cruel Imprisonment by those barbarous Rebels, for the Testimonies of his Affections to his Royal Sovereign.

XXI. The Lord *Gerard*, (afterwards Captain of his Majesty's Life-Guard) who all along the War bore a Part in the Calamities and Misfortunes of the King's Adventures, never forsaking the Royal Interest in its lowest Ebb of Fortune, which he survived to see again restored to its former resplendent Majesty.

XXII. Sir *John Owen*, that undaunted Piece of *Welsh* Loyalty, whose Endeavours for the King in that Country were truly honourable, though not crowned with that Success as such a Cause merited. This loyal Gentleman was, at their High Court of Injustice, condemned to Death, together with Duke *Hamilton*, Lord *Capel*, &c. but by the Mercy of the Parliament (rare and wonderful!) he was reprieved.

XXIII. The Earl of *Norwich*, the Lord *Loughborough*, Sir *Bernard Gascoigne*, Colonel *Far*, &c. These heroick Persons were all engaged in the Design at *Colchester*, where having suffer'd a sharp and bitter Siege, after the Surrender of the Town, they had by the Barbarity of those Rebels suffer'd Death, had not some of them made their Escapes, and the rest given in such Pleas as would have freed them out of the Hands of the most bloody Cannibal in the World.

XXIV. Should I next go about to enumerate all those excellent Persons who were forced out of their Fellowships, and other Collegiate Emoluments in both Universities, it would be a Task too large for so small a Volume.

——— *A Work so great*
Would make Olympus, bearing Atlas, sweat.

Such Barbarity being used towards them, as may make Posterity to tremble at the Thought of it. I shall therefore pass over that sad Story and Beadrol, desiring to be excused, though I give not to every Person a due Character for their Loyalty in Suffering.

XXV. Should I next mention the Calamity of the loyal and orthodox Clergy, which they underwent in general by that cruel and bloody Edict of *Oliver*, which by Restriction of their Function, nay their particular Abilities, permitting them not so much as to keep a School, taking thereby clearly away from them all Hopes of Sustentation and Maintenance of Life; this might better be expressed by Sighs and Tears than by Pen and Paper.

XXVI. Next I might make a Record of that black Bill and List against several of the Nobility and Gentry, which passed against them for an

Act of Parliament, by which their Estates were forfeited for Loyalty, and appointed to be sold by Trustees of their Nomination; thus though they could not come at to eat the Bird, they would be sure to pluck off all his Feathers.

XXVII. In the next Place, the martyr'd City of *Worcester*, the Scene of ruined Loyalty, deserves to be had in everlasting Remembrance; each Citizen whereof might be transcribed into this Register, as being all Sufferers for the Royal Cause, to which they constantly adhered, during all the Time of the War, and would not yield at last without a particular Order from his Majesty; and with the same Resolution of Loyalty did they entertain King *Charles* the Second in 51, whom they proclaimed with great Solemnity, and in that fatal Defeat suffered deeply with him, being plundered by the insatiable Covetousness of the Soldiers, of what was worth the carrying away; yet in that desperate Exigency, (such was their Love to the Royal Cause, that) as if their own Sufferings had been nothing, at the Rebels Entrance, the Streets resounded with the People's Cries, *Ob, save the King, save the King*; amongst which Number of Loyal Sufferers, Mr. *Soles*, the honest Mayor, deserves a particular Remembrance, for whom a Gallows was set up at his own Door, and from which he as narrowly escaped.

XXVIII. Next for the Honour of the City of *London*, we find Sir *Abraham Reynoldson*, who so gallantly refused to proclaim the Act for abolishing Kingly Government, and was for the same committed to the Tower; Sir *John Gaire*, Alderman *Adams*, Sir *James Bunce*, who suffered much in their vast Estates; and Major-General *Brown*, who endured a sharp and tedious Imprisonment.

XXIX. The Honourable Colonel *John Russel*, Brother to the Earl of *Bedford*, a Person of unfeigned

feigned Fidelity and Gallantry, who served his Majesty in his Armies during all the War, and was a constant Sufferer for him all along afterwards in the Usurper's Prisons, being, upon the least Occasion of Fear, sure to be one of the first that was secured, and so continued tossed from one Custody to another, 'till such time as his Majesty's happy Return.

XXX. The Right Honourable the Lord *Bellasis*, who partaking in the same Cause, suffered in the very same Predicament, being no-where more resident or constant than in their Custody; and so jealous were they over him, that he could not go out travel any-where without a *Pass*, or Safe-conduct from the next Officer to the Place of his Abode; which Restriction continued for many Years together, being besides continually in Danger of being trapp'd out of his Life by the Wiles and Snares of his treacherous Enemies.

XXXI. Colonel *John* and *William Ashburnham*, those *Gemini* of loyal Fidelity, the former so well known in our Annals for the conveying the King away from *Oxford*; both signally famous for their Endeavours in the Royal Cause, never free from Trouble and Molestation of the Regicides. These loyal Brothers were, in the Conclusion, sent by them to remote Castles and Islands, and there debarred of any Intercourse or Correspondence with their Friends; so inhumanly barbarous were those bloody Rebels, that when they could not by any Shew of Justice deprive them of their Lives, they would immure them up in Walls of Stone, and debar them of all Means which should in the least make Life comfortable unto them.

XXXII. Sir *Humphry Bennet*, an eminent Royalist, formerly a Brigadier in the King's Army, who at the time of Colonel *Penruddock*'s rising at *Salisbury*, being of that Country, was seized and se-

cured as a Partaker and Confederate with him, and for the same committed Prisoner to the *Tower of London*, where he remained near three Years, and then was brought before their High Court of Justice, which was erected for the Tryal of *Sir Henry Slingsby*, &c. but their Charge not taking as they would have had it, after some few Days Attendance, he was superceded from his Tryal, and remitted again to his Confinement: but the Return of his Majesty put an End to his Troubles.

XXXIII. The Right Honourable *John Lord Viscount Mordaunt*, Brother to the Earl of *Peterborough*, an active Person against the Tyrannies of the *Rump*, and that Monster of Nature *Oliver Cromwell*, being really engaged in several Designs against him, for which he hardly escaped with his Life, being acquitted but by one saving Voice. After the Death of this Tyrant, he still laboured indefatigably in the King's Business, being as busy against the *Rump*, as before against the *Protector*, for which he was by Proclamation commanded to surrender himself by a prefixed Time, or be reputed a Traitor; but was by Providence preserved out of their Hands, and hath since seen some of them suffer the same Death designed for him: He was afterwards Governor of *Windsor Castle*.

XXXIV. *Sir Thomas Woodcock*, who engaging in the same Design with the Lord *Mordaunt*, was by the Regicides designed for the Slaughter: but he so wisely managed his Defence at their Bar of Injustice, that he escaped their Clutches, being fairly acquitted by those bloody Justices.

XXXV. *Mr. Christopher Pitts*, a loyal noble Gentleman, who was apprehended upon the same Business with my Lord *Mordaunt*, and committed Prisoner to *Newgate*; where, after Examination, having

having not found enough against him to take away his Life, they would have made Use of him as a Witness against his Associates; but his noble Spirit scorning such Baseness, refused so to do: whereupon, after many vain Threats and Menaces, he was by their High Court condemned to perpetual Imprisonment, and fined one thousand Pounds; all which his gallant Spirit willingly submitted to, rather than be guilty of his Friends Blood, though a kind of forcible Necessity would have seemed to some a sufficient Warrant for such an Action. He continued after *Oliver's* Death a Prisoner, though with more Freedom than was allowed him by that tyrannical Sentence, until, by the happy Restoration of his Majesty, he commenced his Freedom with that of the Kingdom's.

XXXVI. *Mr. William Garrent*, who for the same Business was try'd before that accursed High Court, who would have, no doubt, designed him for the Slaughter, but that they failed in their Evidence; of which, it was thought, they relied on *Mr. Pitts*: He was with much ado acquitted, and soon after set at Liberty.

XXXVII. *Henry Fryar*, *John Summer*, and *Oliver Allen*, who were all three condemned at the aforesaid Court of Justice, the first of them being brought to suffer in *West-Smithfield*, where in the *Rounds* a Gibbet was erected; but being upon the Ladder, and ready to die, a Reprieve was produced, and he carried back again to the *Tower*, from whence, not long after, he was dismissed: The other two were likewise drawn on Hurdles, the one to *Bishopsgate*, and the other to *Gracechurch-street*; the Places appointed for their Execution; but were there both reprieved, and soon after freed.

XXXVIII. The most noble Marquis of *Winchester*, *Newcastle*, and *Worcester*, Heroes whose Deserts require a better Character than I am able to bestow upon them, and their Memories a more durable Register than this little Breviary, having endured all the Discommodities of those wretched Times amongst them, viz. Imprisonment, Banishment, Distress, Deprivation of Estates, and all those other Miseries an insulting Enemy could lay upon them, for the Duty they owed to God and their King, and the Preservation of a good Conscience.

XXXIX. The Right Honourable the Earls of *Oxford* and *Northampton*, the Lord *Herbert*, &c. who suffered Imprisonment in the *Tower*, upon Suspicion of a Rising; from which afterwards, for want of good Proof, they were released.

XL. Sir *George Booth*, afterwards Lord *Delamere*, who, to free his Country from those insulting Tyrannies of the *Rump*, appeared in Arms against them in *Cheshire*, and was proclaimed a Traitor, together with Major-General *Egerton*, Colonel *Warden*, and Sir *Thomas Middleton*; but being defeated by *Lambert's* more numerous Forces, he fled in a Disguize to *Newport-Pagnel* in *Bedfordshire*, where he was discovered, seized on, and sent Prisoner to the *Tower of London*, his Estate ordered to be sequestred and sold, and Preparations made for his Tryal; which, had it gone on, he would, no doubt, have paid for it with his Life; but as when Thieves fall out, honest Men speed the better, so the Divisions betwixt that remaining Scum at *Westminster*, and their Commander *Lambert*, through the Prudence and Loyalty of noble General *Monk*, brought in the Re-admission of the secluded Members, by whom he was restored to his Liberty and Estate.

XLI. *Sir Thomas Middleton*, a Gentleman who had attempted much to the Restauration of his Majesty, being engaged in the same Business with *Sir George Booth*, after the Defeat he was forced to flee, being sure to have suffered deeply, had he fallen into their Hands : He left *Chirk-castle*, his stately Mansion, to be defended by his Sons, which soon after was render'd to Colonel *Zanby* : but the happy Restauration aforesaid restored his Estate again to him, and him to the free and peaceable Possession thereof.

But should I go about to enumerate all those Persons that suffered by Sequestration, Plunderings, and Rapines, my Task were infinite ; I shall therefore refer every Particular of those Sufferers to that great and general Day of Account, when their Enemies shall receive the Reward of their Fraud and Violence, and themselves a just Recompence for all their Sufferings.

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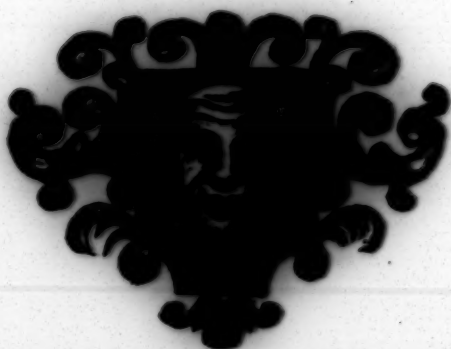
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